

# ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

---

VOLUME IV. 1783—1795.

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[*The Author reserves to himself the Right of Translation.*]

# ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

COMPILED

From the most Authentic Histories of  
the Period.

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BY THE

HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY,  
AND COLONEL OF THE SIXTEENTH QUEEN'S LANCERS.

"By reading you will be distinguished without it your abilities will  
be of little use"

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S *Advice to a Young Officer*

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THIRD EDITION.

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VOL IV 1783—1795.

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1869

'The worn-out soldier, *kindly bade to stay*,  
Sits by the fire and talks the night away,  
Grieves o'er the wounds, and tales of sorrow done,  
Shoulders his crutch and shows how fields were won."

GOLDSMITH.

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*BY THE SAME AUTHOR,*

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# THE WARS

OF

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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1783.

1. CAPTURE OF NEW PROVIDENCE BY A VOLUNTEER.—2. SPAIN IN CONTEST WITH HER COLONIES.—3. WAR IN INDIA—GENERAL MATHEWS OVERRUNS MALABAR AND CAPTURES THE MYSORE TOWNS.—4. TIPPOO SULTAN ENGAGES HIM AND TAKES HIM PRISONER IN BEDNORE.—5. CONTEST BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH AT CUDDALORE.—6. FIFTH AND LAST ACTION BETWEEN HUGHES AND DE SUFFREN.—7. THE FRENCH MAKE A VIGOROUS SALLY FROM CUDDALORE, WHICH IS REPULSED.—8. SIEGE OF MANGALORE BY TIPPOO.—9. NEGOTIATIONS WITH TIPPOO SULTAN.

### 1. CAPTURE OF NEW PROVIDENCE BY A VOLUNTEER.

THE Spaniards had conquered the Bahama Islands in the year 1781, but by the terms of the treaty that was at the time in progress it was stipulated that these islands should be once more restored to the British Crown. Before the peace was signed, however, they had ceased to be under subjection to Spain. The enterprise by which they were recovered has a character of romantic daring that entitles it to particular notice. The close of the North American contest had left one Colonel Deveaux, a Royalist officer of South Carolina, barely twenty-five years of age, without further opportunity to display his talents, and accordingly he sought the means to make himself known by some act of daring against the enemy. He first planned an expedition against Pensacola, which he was induced to relinquish, and then resolved to attempt the re-capture of New Providence. To procure resources for the attempt he devoted all his fortune and all he could obtain by his credit. With his utmost exertions, however, he could only obtain sixty-five volunteers, whom he embarked in two brigantines;

and he obtained the aid of some negroes and half-castes of the island, that raised his whole force to about 220 men, of whom only 150 carried arms. It was understood that there were 700 Spanish troops in garrison. Nothing daunted, he landed his followers on the 14th of May to the east of Fort Montague, which guards the entrance of the harbour. The garrison was in such a complete state of false security that he found only a single sentinel awake, whom he fortunately secured, and then forthwith attacked and carried the work. He next summoned the town peremptorily, and the most ingenious contrivances were resorted to in order to conceal the numbers of the attacking force. On the hesitation of the Governor, batteries were erected on two commanding hills, and a volley of shot poured upon the garrison. By the morning of the 18th, the Governor, finding the shot and shell of his opponent of more effect than his own, capitulated on condition of being sent to the Havannah; and four large galleys carrying heavy guns, besides three other war galleys, together with seventy pieces of cannon, were given up to the conqueror. As the Spaniards marched out they could not forbear expressing their surprise and shame when they surveyed the scanty numbers, and the grotesque and ill-provided appearance of the motley band to which they had laid down their arms<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. SPAIN IN CONTEST WITH HER COLONIES.

Tumults and insurrections in various parts of Peru and Mexico soon proved to Spain the impolicy of interference in the colonial troubles of other nations. In Peru there was at this time a family descended through the female line from the ancient Incas, and who were so acknowledged by the Kings of Spain and the Indies. The head of this family in 1781 was called Tupac Ayinarue. Discontents having broken out in the province of Lima, Tupac took part in the dispute, owing to a priest (who was considered a friend to the natives) having been arrested and imprisoned by the corregidor. He placed himself at the head of 200 militia and a body of partisans, and having put the corregidor to death, and defeated a small body of troops sent against him, he soon found himself at the head of 10,000 followers. Summoning some neighbouring colleagues to his standard, his motley forces at length amounted to 60,000 men, of whom 20,000 were provided with European arms. In March Don Jose de Valle marched against the insurgents stationed on some heights. He cut off their supplies, destroyed their magazines, and, having compelled them to descend into the plains, defeated them with great slaughter. Tupac was betrayed into his hands, together with several guns and much ammunition and money. The revolt, however, was rather inflamed than crushed. The cause of the chief was sustained by his brother and one of his sons, and the rebellion continued to rage, extending itself on one side to the borders of Paraguay, and on the other to the distant kingdoms of New Grenada and Mexico. Fortunately for Spain the Peace of Paris at this juncture enabled the King

<sup>1</sup> Edwards.



to despatch a force to the New World, which gradually succeeded in restoring tranquillity ; but the spirit of revolt was never again quite extinguished, and the establishment requisite to uphold the royal authority absorbed the greater part of the revenue of "The Indies."

### 3. WAR IN INDIA—GENERAL MATHEWS OVERRUNS MALABAR AND CAPTURES THE MYSORE TOWNS.

It is now time to direct attention to India, where war still continued. It has been stated how, upon Hyder's death, one of the most promising opportunities of striking a blow against the Mysore power had been permitted to pass unimproved by General Stuart, owing to his perverse neglect of the advice tendered him by Lord Macartney. Accordingly the army remained inactive, and it was not till the 15th of January, thirteen days after the arrival of Tippoo Sultan in his father's camp, and when he had established the authority of his government, that the British army broke up from its cantonments for the purpose of revictualling Tripassore, its first intermediate depôt. On the 5th of February General Stuart marched upon Wandewash ; the works of which, as well as those of the fort of Carangolly, he now demolished. Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton arrived off Madras on the 6th of February, and brought with him three regiments of infantry, besides Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, altogether amounting to nearly 4000 men ; and being now freed from the Mahratta war, the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay were directing their resources so as to make a powerful diversion on the Malabar side of the Indian peninsula. Early in the year 1782 a British force, commanded by Colonel Humberstone, being part of that despatched from England under Commodore Johnstone and General Mathews, had landed at Calicut, and having moved up the country, took the city of Paniany. The Colonel advanced to the siege and attack of the fort of Paligaut, or Paligautcherry, which he prepared to invest on the 19th of October. Here, however, he had found Tippoo Sultan with so strong a force, and so close upon him, that he had been compelled to make a rapid retreat before him, and return to the coast. He was now joined and superseded by Colonel Macleod, who gallantly resisted a night attack, in which Major Hutchinson, of the 98th regiment, fell mortally wounded. The British troops were on this occasion strongly posted with respect to natural advantages, and were likewise assisted by the "Juno" and the "Pondicherry," armed vessels from Sir Edward Hughes's squadron, which had now appeared off the coast. In the first days of December, Tippoo Sahib, with the assistance of some French troops under Lally, again attacked the British lines and works, and were repulsed by Colonel Macleod. In the night between the 11th and 12th, however, Tippoo suddenly quitted the post and repassed the river Paniany in consequence of the death of Hyder, as has been already related.

In the meantime the presidency of Bombay had despatched General Mathews with a reinforcement to Macleod, and on hearing

of the death of Hyder, they instructed him to discontinue all operations on the coast, and make an immediate push for Bednore. On this occasion, however, according to ordinary Indian practice, the General and the Government took different views. Colonel Macleod joined General Mathews at Rajahmundry, and the General being now at the head of a respectable force, proceeded directly to besiege the port of Onore, which lies about midway between Paniany and Bombay, and had formerly been a place of great commerce. This was taken, by storm on the 5th of January, and it was said that a cruel slaughter was made of the inhabitants on the occasion, when the Killidar and 1200 men were made prisoners. Bednore, called Hyder Nagur, or Nagara, which had been the principal arsenal and one of the most important dependencies of Mysore, afterwards opened its gates to Mathews, and surrendered on terms. On the 14th of February Anapore was taken by assault, and having fired on two flags of truce, received little mercy at the hands of the captors. The British assailants indeed are said to have acted on this occasion with great barbarity; but the story which gained some circulation at the time, that 400 beautiful women, all bleeding with bayonet wounds, expired in each other's arms, while the soldiers stripped off their jewels and committed outrages on their bodies, has not the slightest foundation in truth.

The upper country being thus apparently secure, the various detachments carried on their operations on the coast with great success. On the upper part towards Goa, Captain Carpenter invaded the Sundah country, where he carried everything before him, reducing Carwar and all the other principal forts. But the great and principal expedition to be undertaken was that against the important fortress of Mangalore, where the rudiments of Hyder's navy were rising in despite of fortune into something like form; for three ships of the line, of from 50 to 60 guns each, were in great forwardness, if not nearly finished, and several others of inferior size were also upon the stocks. Two battalions of sepoy were ordered to invest this fortress, which does not seem to have been much better garrisoned than the other places that had been lately subdued. The town was taken without much resistance, only some eighty men being lost, who were killed by the springing of a mine. The Killidar fled into the fort, and this being of some strength, Carpenter was obliged to await the arrival of General Mathews with his troops and artillery; nevertheless the fort made no long resistance, and the Governor surrendered upon conditions on the 9th of March. The English were thus in possession of all the strongholds on the Malabar coast; but Tippoo Sultan, as he now called himself, had returned from the Carnatic, and determined to relinquish all other objects for the recovery of the Bednore country. With a heavy heart, indeed, he withdrew from the conquest of Madras, but there was no choice for him, and he crossed through the Changamah pass about the middle of March. General Mathews's vigilance in guarding his conquests was not equal to the resolution and boldness that he had evinced in

effecting them; for he scattered his force over a prodigious extent of country, exposing it to be cut off in detail, while he unfortunately quarrelled with the senior officers under his command; so that there was an absence of every thing like concord and system in the various departments of the army.

#### 4. TIPPOO SULTAN ENGAGES MATHEWS AND TAKES HIM PRISONER IN BEDNORE.

Early in April Tippoo appeared at the head of a prodigious army, which was so numerous that it not only filled the plains near the city of Bednore, but covered the hills to a greater distance than the eye could reach. General Mathews's European force consisted of detachments of the 98th, 100th, and 102nd royal regiments, amounting to about 600 men, and he had about 1600 excellent sepoys. With this small force he had the temerity to encounter Tippoo's immense army in the open field, but 500 of his men having fallen in a few minutes, he abandoned the city and retreated into the fortress. This Tippoo instantly invested; and bringing up heavy artillery, surrounded it on every side with batteries. After seventeen days' hopeless defence the unfortunate troops in the fortress of Bednore were reduced to the necessity of capitulating upon terms dictated by the conqueror, one of which was that they were to be conveyed to Bombay. Accordingly, having marched out of the fortress on the 28th of April, they piled their arms and were led about a mile from Bednore, where they were encamped, being surrounded by some battalions of the Sultan's armed sepoys. One of the conditions of the capitulation was that all public property was to be restored; but General Mathews, in order to avoid the necessity of giving this up, had plundered the public treasury and divided it amongst his troops, so that not a single rupee was found by the captors in the fort. Moreover, it appears that the profuseness of the garrison in making purchases at a market on their coming out of the fort, led to a suspicion of the truth, and afforded a plea for the total overthrow of the terms of the capitulation. On the following morning the unfortunate General was sent for to meet Tippoo without the town, and he and those who accompanied him never returned. Two days after, the field and staff officers, with all the captains, paymaster, and commissary, were sent for, and in like manner detained. The backshi was then sent to the camp, and the remaining officers were stripped and searched before him. The subsequent sufferings of these ill-fated troops are not certainly known; they were compelled to march almost naked and loaded with irons for many days under a burning sun, and were driven like wild beasts to a fort in the interior part of the country, where they underwent a most grievous and cruel imprisonment. All that is known of the unfortunate General is that he underwent a violent death of some kind, but the manner of it is uncertain: one account states that molten lead was poured down his throat; another that scalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third, that he was compelled to swallow poison. Several of the principal officers were likewise said to have been barbarously murdered. The

immense treasures which were the cause of all this mischief, and which were said to have amounted to upwards of a million of money, were mostly, if not entirely, recovered by the conqueror. Tippoo Sultan now immediately proceeded to the recovery of Mangalore.

#### 5. CONTEST BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH AT CUDDALORE.

The government of Bengal had despatched ten lacs of rupees on board the "Resolution" armed ship, which escaped capture from two French ships of the line by little less than a miracle, and arrived at Madras at the same time with Sir Edward Hughes and the fleet from Bombay, on the 21st of April. General Stuart had replenished the exhausted magazines at Vellore with unlooked-for facility, and had now taken up a position to the south of Cuddalore, which it was deemed a point of the utmost military importance to recover. He found himself opposed at this place by a large French force under the Marquis de Bussy, who had recently obtained large reinforcements from the Isle of France, and had erected field works with great skill, so as to cover both the town and fort of which he was in possession. The great object of the campaign now was the expulsion of the French from the Carnatic. Upon the retreat of Tippoo from the Coromandel side of the Indian Peninsula, General Stuart had also detached a considerable division of his army under Colonels Lang and Fullarton to carry the war into the southern quarter of the kingdom of Mysore. On the 2nd of April Lang captured the fortress of Caroor, where the 1st Madras European regiment much distinguished itself; and on the 2nd of June, Fullarton took Darapooram by assault, both of them places of some strength on the Amaravati River in the province of Coimbatore. In the meanwhile the army of General Stuart, consisting of 1660 Europeans, 8000 sepoys, and 1000 cavalry, had moved forward on the 21st of April towards Cuddalore: this place is nearly surrounded by the sea, and the neck of land connecting it with the main is composed of very unequal and difficult ground, while to the south it is covered with a very thick and deep wood. The French, relying upon the security that this wood afforded them (for in India no natural defence is deemed better than the hard-wood timber trees, and thick underwood of bamboo, the characteristic of this district), were satisfied to fortify those parts of the neck which lay open to the country, and these they covered with strong lines and redoubts well mounted with artillery. On the 4th of June General Stuart arrived at a distance of about five miles from the boundary hedge, within which the French were securely entrenched. Bussy beheld with astonishment the British General encamping on the south side, under cover of the wood which they regarded as their own security, because impenetrable at least to the passage of artillery; but they nevertheless continued to apply themselves to obviate an attack by continuing, with extraordinary labour and industry, their chain of works quite across the neck, while Bussy moved his army, consisting of 3000 European infantry, 3500 Caffres and sepoys, together with 3000 Mysore infantry, and 2000 cavalry, from the north side, and took up a position opposite Stuart.

The British General observing the wonderful rapidity with which new works were continually rising into view, and relying on the bravery of his troops, determined to anticipate by a bold attack these preparations of the enemy. This was successfully commenced early in the morning of the 13th of June. Lieut.-Colonel Kelly on the left carried the enemy's works and batteries on the Bandipollum hills, and turned their guns on the Mysore contingent with great effect through the whole course of the day. Colonel Cathcart with the European grenadiers, supported by Colonel Stuart with the remains of the 73rd under Captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoys, attempted, under cover of the guns taken by Kelly, to turn the enemy's right. At the same time the centre division, under Colonels Elphinstone and Wangenheim, with the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, attacked a large redoubt, but it was too strong for them and they could not succeed. The reserve accordingly under Colonel Gordon, consisting of the 101st and of some Hanoverians, as well as of five companies of sepoys, were ordered up in support, while the division of General Bruce, on the right, made a forward movement in the direction of the redoubt. As the fire of the British artillery had not been able to produce any effect upon the work, an attempt to carry it by storm became the last resort. As soon, therefore, as the advancing troops were able to close upon the enemy with their musketry, the firing of the artillery ceased, and they advanced in the most admirable order to the works, into which they succeeded in forcing their way; the French troops, however, received them most valiantly, and the assailants were repulsed; but now, unable to restrain their ardour, the French sallied out of the fortification and pushed back the reserve, which was still desperately fighting, down the declivity and towards the level ground. This old error of too much ardour left room for the grenadiers, with the other troops of Stuart's division, to turn the works, and gave to the British at length the possession of the strong post which had been the object of so much bloody contention. Another detachment which had carried a strong post called Brickmyres, was obliged to abandon it again to the French; but as the works on the Bandipollum hills and the captured redoubt commanded and enfiladed the neck, and laid the way open to the fortress, the enemy were obliged to take a circuitous course to gain it, on which a spirited attempt was made by General Bruce to cut them off; some of the guns, however, still in possession of the French, caught them in a hollow way, and poured such incessant showers of grape upon them that they could not make head, and the design was relinquished. The next morning the French abandoned all their posts outside the fortress. The British lost in this affair 962 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the former the brave Major Varrenius fell leading on the Hanoverians; and Captain Lindsay of the 73rd was also mortally wounded. The French lost forty-two of their officers, and above 600 of their troops.

## 6. THE FIFTH AND LAST ACTION BETWEEN HUGHES AND DE SUFFREN.

Next morning, the 14th of June, the attention of all parties was turned to the sea. The French fleet under M. de Suffren made its appearance, having arrived from Trincomalee, and was in a day or two followed by the British fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, which had come from Madras. The Marquis de Bussy now found himself so strong, ensconced behind his works in Cuddalore, that, notwithstanding his late repulse from the isthmus before it, he detached 1200 of his troops to reinforce the French fleet, which in numbers was weaker than the British; the latter having sixteen sail and two 50-gun ships, and the former eighteen sail of all kinds; but the extraordinary sickness which had of late affected the British fleet had diminished their crews to half their proper strength, and the French, though in a rather leaky state, were now more than fully manned. Two or three days were passed in manœuvres by both fleets. This was the peculiarity that marked an encounter with the French fleets everywhere, but it more especially distinguished the two antagonists who were now about to have a concluding trial of strength. The superior sailing of the French always enabled them to get and keep the wind, and the British Admiral exerted himself now, as heretofore, in vain to procure that advantage. At length on the fourth day of these manœuvres (June 20), the wind being entirely in their favour, the enemy showed a disposition to engage. It was supposed that he had obtained intelligence of the havoc made by the scurvy among the crews of the different ships of Sir Edward Hughes's squadron, and thought to find them undermined. Be this as it may, a little past four o'clock that afternoon the van ship of De Suffren's line came down upon the British Admiral (who had formed the line of battle ahead) and opened all her fire, which was followed by that of the whole of the French fleet. Not a shot was returned on the other side for twenty minutes, when the English opened a heavy cannonade; and this now continued on both sides without intermission till seven o'clock, when M. de Suffren thought proper to haul off. The British had ninety-nine men killed and 431 wounded in this inconsequential action. The enemy's fleet were out of sight in the morning, and Sir Edward set off in pursuit, and discovered it on the 22nd at anchor in the roads of Pondicherry; but though he braved them there during the whole day, and anchored within their sight in the evening, he could not induce them to come forth again. The state of his crews, of which there were nearly 1500 men unfit for duty, now put him under the absolute necessity of bearing up for Madras, where he arrived on the 25th. Upon the departure of the British squadron M. de Suffren immediately proceeded to Cuddalore, where he not only returned the 1200 men he had embarked there, but landed 2400 men to reinforce the Marquis de Bussy in his operations. This was the fifth and last battle between Hughes and Suffren, in which neither succeeded in ever taking a ship, nor in obtaining an advantage over the other; and it was the con-

cluding demonstration of that severe course of naval warfare during this war, in which the largest amount of hostile shipping that was ever previously known on the ocean had contended for superiority.

#### 7. THE FRENCH MAKE A VIGOROUS SORTIE FROM CUDDALORE, WHICH IS REPULSED.

During these transactions General Stuart was carrying on his approaches to attack the body of the fortress of Cuddalore. He soon found himself unequal to the undertaking; his effective force was much reduced by fatigue and sickness, and the reinforcements he was expecting from the Coimbatore country under Colonel Fullarton did not appear; for that officer had received instructions from the presidency to move in a contrary direction, and embarrassed by these contradictory orders, he was paralyzed in his movements, not knowing which to obey. The arrival of the enemy's fleet off Cuddalore without the British in pursuit aggravated all these difficulties in an extraordinary degree, more especially when it came to be known that Admiral de Suffren had not only returned to the garrison the 1200 men which had been furnished by M. de Bussy, but had also landed from his fleet a strong body of seamen amounting to some 2400 men, which gave the French governor as great a superiority in numbers as he had hitherto possessed in forces and position. M. de Bussy considered the opportunity favourable for deciding the fortune of the siege. Accordingly he selected for a sally some of the best of his troops, and entrusted the conduct of it to the Chevalier de Damas, a Knight of Malta and Colonel of the regiment D'Aquitaine. With this force the French commander left the place about three in the morning of the 25th of June, and came upon the trenches of the English quite unexpectedly. The 24th regiment of Bengal sepoys first received the enemy, and although they lost their colours, which were immediately sent off in triumph to the town, they showed themselves worthy of a better fortune, and steadily fought some of the oldest and best troops of France with the bayonet, foiling them even with the weapon which is supposed to be the most trying test of the firmness and excellency of soldiers. These brave men were thanked by General Stuart before the whole army: and from this time the British sepoys have been regarded as scarcely inferior to European troops. As soon as the British could gain their arms they opposed the assailants with the greatest resolution and firmness, and attacking the enemy in turn, pushed them so hard on every side that they completely routed them, taking M. de Damas and some 150 men prisoners. The brave Major Cotgrove, who so gallantly led the sepoys, was here killed. The attack on the British lines had been pushed with extraordinary vigour, but the French could make no impression on them, and were repulsed with a heavy loss. Preparations for another and more gigantic effort were in progress, but in two or three days after the sally the "Medea" frigate arrived at Cuddalore, bringing information of the peace between Great Britain and France, and hostilities immediately ceased. Amongst the wounded prisoners taken on this occasion was a young French ser-

geant who, by his great bravery, particularly attracted the notice of General Wangenheim, commanding the Hanoverian division. Many years afterwards, when the French army under General Bernadotte entered Hanover, Wangenheim was presented to this conqueror: "You have served, General, a great deal," said Bernadotte, "and, as I understand, in India." "Yes, I have served there." "Were you at Cuddalore?" "I was there." "Have you any recollection of a wounded sergeant whom you took under your protection?" "I do, indeed, remember the circumstance now you bring it to my memory; a very fine and brave young man he was, but I have entirely lost sight of him ever since, and it would give me pleasure to hear of his welfare." "That young sergeant of whom you speak so kindly is the man who now addresses you, and who is happy in this public opportunity of acknowledging his great obligation to you, and will omit no means in his power of testifying his gratitude to General Wangenheim."

#### 8. SIEGE OF MANGALORE BY TIPPPOO SULTAN CONVERTED INTO A BLOCKADE.

All this while Tippoo Sultan was pressing the siege of Mangalore with the utmost vigour of which he was capable. The place was well garrisoned, and most ably defended by Colonel Campbell, seconded by the well-tryed valour of the 42nd Highlanders. A French contingent under M. Cossigny served under the Sultan's orders; and three regular attacks suggested by that officer had been made and repulsed. The fire from the besiegers' batteries had, however, reduced the walls to little better than a heap of ruins. On the 4th of July a large body of the assailants made a dash at the left tower of the western gate of the fortress, but it was gallantly repulsed by the besieged, who carried dismay and confusion into the enemy's lines. Such was the state of affairs, the trenches having been open fifty days, when peremptory orders arrived from M. de Bussy to recall M. Cossigny and his detachment. Tippoo was furious at the positive refusal of the French commander to continue longer in his camp, and it is said that he meditated to retain him by force. At all events, he parted from him with an exceedingly ill grace, and much dissatisfaction was evident on both sides. Tippoo was bewildered by the loss of his European friends, and, not knowing what to do, converted the siege into a blockade. The garrison was reduced to the utmost distress through the want of provisions, and Tippoo used his utmost endeavour to starve them into a surrender, when General Macleod arrived with a strong force from Bombay, and brought a supply to the besieged, in consequence of which an armistice was agreed to.

In the mean time the Madras government had instructed Colonel Fullarton, after the fall of Darapooram, to move to the assistance of Mangalore, when the progress of that indefatigable officer was stayed by orders from General Stuart, who now informed him of the cessation of hostilities at Cuddalore, and desired that further aggressive measures against Tippoo might be suspended. The Colonel felt bound



to obey his military superior, though little satisfied as to the propriety of the orders which stayed his progress, and he contented himself, therefore, to employ his time in restoring order and obedience in the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely: the conduct of General Staunton on this and various other occasions had given great offence at the presidency, where he was on ill terms with the Governor, Lord Macartney, and he was summoned to repair to Madras to explain his conduct. He was there put under arrest, and detained a prisoner until an opportunity offered of sending him to England.

### 9. NEGOTIATIONS WITH TIPPOO SULTAN.

Lord Macartney had early endeavoured to discover whether Tippoo would listen to any propositions for peace, and now addressed to him a letter bearing date the 2nd of July, in which he informed him of the treaty agreed to between the British and French, and invited him to become a party to the treaty of Salbye. An article in the preliminaries of the European treaty stipulated that four months should be allowed to the belligerent powers of Hindustan to accede to the pacification. But Tippoo disregarded alike the information and the proposition of the Governor of Madras. The truth was, that Tippoo was unwilling to bring his own contest to an end, except with the performance of some exploit calculated to impress the native powers around with an exaggerated notion of his prowess. Though he agreed, therefore, on the 2nd of August to suspend active hostilities against Mangalore and other English posts in Malabar, he took care that the garrisons should not receive supplies, in order to starve them into a surrender. On the 18th of October Fullarton, apprised of these proceedings, put himself in motion to recommence operations, and on the 4th of November he invested the strong fortress of Paligaut or Paligautcherry. In the course of the siege Captain Maitland took advantage of a heavy rain to drive the enemy from the covered way, and on the 13th the garrison surrendered. In like manner Coimbatore opened its gates, without waiting for a breach, on the 26th. Seringapatam itself lay now in some degree at his mercy, when to his extreme mortification Fullarton again received instructions to proceed no further, and once more he suspended operations, though he positively refused to obey the orders he received at the same time to fall back within the limits of the Tanjore dominions. Another armistice had it appears been concluded, and it was feared that these exploits of the southern army might throw impediments in the way of the desired pacification. On the 9th of November Mr. Staunton, Mr. Sadleir, and Mr. Humberstone set out from Fort St. George with powers to adjust all differences at Seringapatam; but they were not even permitted to enter that capital, but were led, after a fashion as little respectful as possible, to the Sultan's camp in front of Mangalore. There the grossest indignities were heaped upon them. Tippoo refused to communicate with them, and caused gibbets to be erected at the door of their tents to insult them. He never for one moment in this interval relaxed his endeavours to reduce Mangalore, and resolutely forbade the commissioners from

having any communication with their countrymen either in the forts or shipping, while it was not concealed from them that several British prisoners, including General Mathews, had been put to death. It is almost incredible that such should ever have been the timid submission of British servants in any capacity, but more especially when their countrymen were suffering in the very fort before their eyes for the honour and dignity of England. On the 1st of December a British squadron appeared off Mangalore, but all except one ship, on board of which was Colonel Macleod, departed the same day: this vessel indeed sailed away in like manner on the 2nd, after having thrown in some inadequate supplies. To be tantalized repeatedly by hopes of relief like this was a severe trial to the unfortunate besieged, but neither Campbell nor his gallant band would hear of unconditional surrender. Fullarton had received intelligence of the state of affairs at Mangalore, and was eager to move to its assistance; but shortly afterwards he received through Swartz, the interpreter of the commissioners, distinct orders to relinquish his conquests, and retire within the limits prescribed by his previous instructions. "But," added Swartz, "is it right that you should quit all before the negotiation is ended? The possession of these rich countries would keep Tippoo in awe, and incline him to reasonable terms. You now quit the reins, and how will you manage the beast?" Colonel Fullarton could only reply by obedience. But he had not entirely fulfilled his orders, when he received counter orders requiring him again to take possession of all that had not been previously given up until further notice. Colonel Fullarton appears to have been a very superior officer, and it is sad to think how he was thwarted and checked by incompetent civilian control, which we see quailed before the enemy while they disarmed their own power. Fullarton made many effective changes in Indian warfare—among which may be noticed the mode of marching, which had hitherto been by files, making an army miles in length; and next in the system of intelligence, which had been till his time very defective<sup>1</sup>.

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## 1784.

1. FALL OF MANGALORE.—2. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR IN INDIA.
- 3. SPAIN IN CONTEST WITH THE BARBARY POWERS.—4. THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AT OPEN WAR WITH THE DUTCH—AND THREATENS THE PEACE OF GERMANY.

### 1. FALL OF MANGALORE.

On the 23rd of January it seemed impossible longer to protract the state of suffering to which the enduring garrison of Mangalore was exposed. The distress became extreme. The salt meat was uneatable, the biscuit swarmed with vermin. The sepoy were at-

<sup>1</sup> Thornton, Greig, Ann. Register.

tacked with scurvy, the consequence of loathsome and unwholesome food; and even with blindness, alleged to proceed from the consumption of rice without any antiseptic addition. Nearly two-thirds of the sepoys had perished of famine and diseases. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and on the 26th articles of capitulation were agreed upon. The same day Colonel Gordon arrived with two ships containing a month's provisions; but the articles had been agreed upon, though not signed, and Campbell would not recede from his plighted faith. On the 30th the garrison marched to Tellichery with arms and all the honours of war. Campbell and his brave band had nobly done their duty; but he did not long survive the fatigues and anxiety to which he had been subjected, dying on the 23rd of March following.

## 2. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR IN INDIA.

With the fall of Mangalore this important war came to a close. Tippoo had effected his two great objects, the reduction of the fortress and the humiliation of the English. He now condescended to meet the commissioners, and on the 11th of March signed a treaty of peace on the ground of a mutual restitution of all conquests. Previously to signing the treaty of peace with the English, Tippoo Sultan had taken offence at the conduct of the Mahrattas, and being then at the head of a large and victorious army, he judged it a favourable opportunity to settle his disputes with that nation. Passing through the fertile district of Shanur, which he ravaged, he proceeded to attack the forts of Dawar and Badamy, both of which he took. Flushed by this success, he was about to cross the Kistnah and carry his arms into the heart of the enemy's country, when the terrified court of Poonah mollified his anger by terms of peace. The Madras government was too eager for peace to inquire into any of the atrocious and horrid proceedings of Tippoo, and too weak to protract hostilities in the hope of avenging them. The treaty was immediately transmitted to Calcutta, where in the absence of the Governor-General, who was at Lucknow, it was acknowledged and ratified by the Supreme Council; but as soon as Mr. Hastings got back to Calcutta, stipulations novel and unexpected were transmitted to Lord Macartney, who was commanded "at his peril" to forward them to Seringapatam. But Hastings was now tottering in his seat, and Macartney's influence and authority were rising as those of his superior declined. His Lordship declined to obey the Governor-General's instructions, and the matter fell to the ground. There are few campaigns on record that exhibited more genius and talent than that which was carried on by Fullarton in Coimbatore, while the defence of Conkan by Hartley, of Mangalore by Campbell, and of Vellore by Travanian, were in the highest degree creditable to their courage and their skill. Of the civil servants at Madras at this juncture, Governors Whitehall, Pigott, and Rumbold, were all alike incompetent: and if Lord Macartney<sup>1</sup> was any thing to

<sup>1</sup> The strong measure of removing General Stuart from the command of the Madras army and sending him to England in arrest led to a very bitter

boast of, he was badly represented in the camp of Tippoo by Sir George Staunton and Messrs. Sadleir and Humberstone. It certainly was not the civil servants of India who conquered India in the eighteenth century,

### **3. SPAIN IN CONTEST WITH THE BARBARY POWERS.**

Spain had no sooner got disentangled from her European wars, than she began to prepare for new military adventure. Her ships being in some degree still manned, and a great number of bomb-ketches, gunboats, and other armed vessels, which had been destined against Gibraltar, still in readiness, she bethought her of making an attack on the piratical city of Algiers. The conduct of the enterprise was committed to Don Antonio Barcelo, who proceeded with his armament from Carthage on the 2nd of July; but his fleet did not arrive in the Bay of Algiers until the 29th. He found the Algerines well prepared for his reception. The Admiral formed his line of battle on the 1st of August, and made the necessary dispositions for an attack. The bomb-ketches and gunboats, supported by xebecs and other vessels, composed the van, the whole being covered by the ships of the line and frigates. The cannonade and bombardment were commenced at half-past two o'clock, and were continued without intermission till sunset. The attack was renewed on the following, and on every succeeding day until the 9th, when it was resolved at a council of war, for sufficient reasons, to return immediately to Spain. In the course of these attacks 3732 shells and 3433 shot were discharged by the Spaniards, and were returned by the Algerines with 399 shells and 11,284 shot. This vast expenditure of ammunition produced no correspondent effect on either side: the town was repeatedly set on fire, but the flames were soon subdued. The example of Gibraltar was followed by the garrison in the use of red-hot balls, but they did not produce a similar effect. The Algerines made several bold sallies with their small vessels, but were constantly repulsed by the superiority of fire from the fleet. In the following year the Spanish armament was reinforced by Portuguese, Neapolitan, and Maltese vessels, and seven attacks were made upon the place, which was however again so well defended, that all the efforts of the Christian combatants united were fruitless against these stout infidels.

### **4. THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AT OPEN WAR WITH THE DUTCH.**

The Emperor Joseph, who had already taken possession of and dismantled the fortresses in the Netherlands constituting the Dutch barrier, began at this time to manifest a disposition to take advantage of the weak and disordered state into which the United Provinces were plunged by the disasters of the late war and their

duel between him and Lord Macartney. In the result the latter was wounded in the shoulder; Stuart, not appeased, desired him to fire his second pistol, and Macartney expressed his readiness "to gratify the General;" but the seconds interfered.

own internal dissensions. The Emperor advanced some obsolete claims, among which was the free navigation of the Scheldt. The States sent plenipotentiaries to Brussels for the purpose of settling these disputes, but on the very day they arrived (21st of April) a small detachment of Austrian troops entered the Dutch territory and took possession of Old Lillo, a fort which had been neglected since the construction of New Lillo near it. These transactions excited alarm. The Dutch Government sent troops to Maastricht and other places, and demanded the mediation of France with the Emperor. As Joseph's object was to revive the ancient commerce of Antwerp, he determined to make an experiment on the alarmed acquiescence of the Dutch. A small Flemish vessel was sent down the river, which passed the Fort of Lillo and the guard-ship without notice, but on its return it was hailed by the captain of the latter to bring to for examination. The Fleming replied that he had positive orders not to submit to a search or to pay respect to the fort, when a gun was fired at the vessel. The Emperor on this made an ultimatum to the States for—1st, the free navigation of the Scheldt; 2ndly, the demolition of the Dutch forts; and 3rdly, an uninterrupted commerce with the Dutch settlements in the East Indies; and he repeated his experiments of bringing them to reason, by sending down on the 8th of October an imperial brig, with orders to proceed to sea without submitting to any detention or examination whatever. The result was that a broadside was fired into her from a Dutch armed cutter, with a threat of sending her to the bottom if she did not immediately bring to, with which she was obliged to comply. On the intelligence of this event reaching Vienna the Emperor withdrew his ambassador from the Hague, and a large Austrian army was placed under orders to proceed to the Netherlands. The Dutch immediately made active preparations for resistance, and in November broke down a dyke near Lillo and laid the adjacent tract under water. In this state things remained when the severity of winter suspended further operations.

#### THREATENS THE PEACE OF GERMANY.

The Emperor Joseph, still busying himself with projects inconsistent with each other, raised at the same time a ferment against himself in Germany by a secret proposal to the Elector Palatine, who was also Elector of Bavaria, to aggrandize the power of Austria by exchanging the Low Countries for the Electorate. The heir presumptive, the Duke of Zweybrucken, heard of this project from the court of Russia, and at once applied to the King of Prussia as guarantor of the treaty of Teschen. Frederick, now on the very verge of the grave, would not again unsheath his sword; but by wise and prudent counsels he formed a confederation, of which Prussia was the centre, to preserve the German constitution intact. Joseph made the most vigorous preparation for war in defence of his scheme, but at length listened to prudence, and this storm died away.

1785.

1. TREATY BETWEEN THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AND THE DUTCH.—2. THE DUTCH STADTHOLDER DEPRIVED OF MILITARY HONOURS BY THE STATES.—3. THE EMPRESS CATHARINE OBTAINS POSSESSION OF THE CRIMEA.

#### 1. TREATY BETWEEN THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AND THE DUTCH.

While the Emperor's attention was drawn towards Germany, the Dutch sought the assistance of the Court of Versailles, and the Count de Vergennes sent the Marshal de Mallebois, at their instigation, to take the command of their forces. But at length these disputes were prevented from rising into a war by the intervention of the French Court, and the Emperor admitted a humble apology from some Dutch deputies for the insult to his flag, and so far yielded as to relinquish his grand point respecting the Scheldt, on which terms a treaty was at length adjusted on the 8th of November at Fontainebleau.

#### 2. THE DUTCH STADTHOLDER DEPRIVED OF MILITARY HONOURS BY THE STATES.

The French having now obtained a considerable influence in the Dutch councils, a strong democratic party was stirred up under their protection to arraign or abridge the authority of the Stadtholder. In consequence of this affront he retired to his own city of Breda, while the King of Prussia remonstrated on their treatment of a prince so nearly connected with him; nevertheless the States absolved the troops from all allegiance to him, and transferred the military honours usually enjoyed by the Stadtholder to their Pensionary.

#### 3. THE EMPRESS CATHARINE OBTAINS POSSESSION OF THE CRIMEA.

From the time of the seizure of the Crimea by Russia, a petty war had been carried on between the Russians and the Tartar tribes in the Caucasus and the borders of the Caspian Sea. In 1783 the Czarina published a manifesto, in which she asserted that she had taken possession of the Crimea, and she caused a Tartar Khan and his family to be brought to St. Petersburg to attest her right of conquest. Thus Catharine had the extraordinary good fortune to realize most of the plans and projects of Peter the Great, and advanced her empire still nearer to the gates of Constantinople.

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 1786.

1. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF FREDERICK II., KING OF PRUSSIA.—2. THE PORTE PUTS DOWN AN INSURRECTION IN EGYPT.—3. REFLECTIONS. THIS YEAR THE TURNING-POINT OF PEACE AND WAR.

## 1. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF FREDERICK II., KING OF PRUSSIA.

Frederick II. of Prussia, son of Frederick William I., by the Princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter of George II. of Great Britain, died on the 17th of August, this year, in his seventy-fifth year. His early education was confided to French instructors, which gave him throughout his whole life an inclination for the literature and people of France. His father used such violent measures to introduce him into the career of arms, that Frederick at first took a disgust to it, and gave himself up exclusively to the study of the belles-lettres. This widened the breach between father and son, so that the former increased his severity and dislike towards the latter, whom he called "a French petit-maitre who would ruin all his designs." In 1734 Frederick had an opportunity of accompanying an auxiliary corps of Prussians sent to the assistance of the army of the Empire, on which occasion he made acquaintance with the celebrated Prince Eugene. But he found the Prince so much below his ideal of a great man, that he became more than ever alienated from military pursuits, and when he returned home retired to his castle of Rheenberg, where he dedicated himself entirely to the Muses and to the society of literary men until his father's death in 1740.

On this event, to the surprise of his subjects, and disappointment of his associates, he at once changed all his habits, and devoted himself to the administration of affairs, and especially of his army. He gave up every kind of frivolous pursuit, and divided his time between councils and reviews exclusively: he rose at five in the morning, and this so resolutely, that he ordered a wet cloth to be thrown on his face every morning, whatever might be the season, so as never to oversleep himself. It did not escape European observation that he was increasing his forces and attracting officers from every quarter into his army, nor did he leave the world long in doubt as to the tendency of his inclinations, for he soon got up a quarrel with the Prince Bishop of Liège, marched troops into his territory, and made him pay a round sum for his pardon and reconciliation: before the first year of his reign had expired he invaded Silesia, frankly avowing that he had an army ready for the field, a long accumulated treasure, a desire to acquire glory, and claims on the invaded province, which he declared in a proclamation, without asking the owner whether he admitted the legality of them or not.

Frederick became in a very short time the founder of a new school of military discipline and science. He applied himself to the task of reforming his army by these four means:—1. By extending it; 2. by watching the least defects in its discipline; 3. by exercising it himself continually that he might know his soldiers, and his soldiers know him; and, 4. by studying the military art, so as to endeavour to give a new direction to its tactics. These were the earliest, and continued to be the favourite objects of his ambition. He commenced by doubling the amount of his artillery, and creating large dépôts of military stores. The cavalry was much considered by

Frederick—he practised every change of direction and every movement of this force at a gallop, and by this means acquired a vast superiority over an enemy by the activity of his movements. He had 100 squadrons of hussars of 150 men in each, who were in his time the best in Europe. He very much considered the duty of outposts, “*La science de la petite guerre*,” as he called it, and he considered a good knowledge of this to be as essential to an officer of the line as that of fortification to an engineer. Moreover he looked on this as the best school in which to form generals. The knowledge and observation of ground obtained by hussars; their necessary quickness in the *coup-d’œil*; their habits of circumventing in skirmishes, of secret despatch in their patrols, of vigilance in their pickets and vedettes, made in his opinion “*la petite guerre*” a perfect military school. The King kept his hussars continually on the alert, causing them to alarm the enemy by night and by day, by reconnoitring villages, carrying off forage and supplies, &c., and he requested the officers to give him detailed reports of the course of rivers, their bridges and fords, the practicability of passing through forests and of crossing swamps, all which must have made his cavalry officers most valuable leaders of troops, and excellent staff-officers.

His infantry was long regarded as the especial model for every European army, being the best disciplined “*et la plus manœuvrière de l’Europe*.” He was enabled, by the perfection to which he had brought this essential arm of the service, to manœuvre even in face of the enemy, to outflank, to bewilder, and to overwhelm, by bringing to bear on some one single point the whole collected force of his army. The favourite movement of the King was the change of front, which he was the first among modern leaders to dare to make in the face of an enemy. It was another of his systems to make what he called his “*ordre oblique*.” He is supposed to have derived it from the maxims of Epaminondas. This comprehends every species of disposition by which troops can at pleasure be made to attack any point of a line, while a reserve is held back out of reach of attack. He would form part of his line in columns right and left, and with one amuse the enemy while he manœuvred for hours with the other, until he could at length combine an attack on some part of his adversary and overwhelm him. This order is the most scientific, the most artful, and the most perfect of all. He used a great deal of cunning in such movements, and the most inviolable secrecy was always preserved as to his real intentions in this, as indeed in every thing. At first he made it a principle with his infantry to depend especially upon its fire, under an idea that troops composed of peasants from different countries, and not animated by any great public spirit, could not be sufficiently relied on; that if brought into the *mêlée*, they would run away and desert, and that they could therefore only be restrained from this by extreme vigilance and discipline. In later years, however, he much modified these opinions, and became more sensible of the advantages of the naked steel, so that he officially directed that the troops should always make ground by boldly attacking at the charge, and on no account be hasty in firing, because it impeded



this more essential duty. "It is not so much the men killed," he would say, "as the ground gained that gives the victory." The artillery arm was that to which the King least attended and which he could least appreciate: in Frederick's time, indeed, it had by no means attained to that perfection and consideration which it enjoys at present. His successes soon astonished Europe, and he was henceforward regarded as the great captain of the age. Whether in war or in peace he loved to be at the head of his army, and military men of all countries flocked to his encampments and reviews to learn the art of war. He would there fight his battles over again, and take advantage of these occasions to instruct his officers as to the faults he had committed, and the causes of his ultimate success. He always destined the months of May and June to these manœuvres of his army, but the autumn was reserved for the great reviews at Potsdam. To these he would not at first admit strangers, and at no time would he concede to them the permission to be present except by a request addressed personally to himself. This practice he continued to the end of his life.

Frederick was in his person below the middle stature, of a very animated expression of countenance, with eyes full of fire and penetration. His tone of voice was clear and sweet, and his manners mild and gentle. He was not a man of blood in his civil administration, and even shuddered to sign a death warrant, yet he was inexorable towards any act of military insubordination, and often punished small offences with death in a manner unjust and capricious, not listening to any extenuating circumstances. He was fond of money and not at all particular how he got it. He extorted contributions wherever he had the power; debased the coin with a view to his own profit; established royal monopolies; and although he expended large sums in repairing in many districts the consequences of war to his kingdom, yet he accumulated a considerable treasure in his own coffers from a love of it, and to be prepared against contingencies.

Frederick, like Cæsar, united the talents of a writer with those of a warrior. His works, in the most complete edition, occupy nine quarto volumes. He wrote mostly in French—poems, history, jurisprudence, and the art of war. He was one of those extraordinary men, who by an adroit and regular partition of their time, accompanied with strong spirits and perseverance, can pursue a variety of occupations, which common mortals must contemplate with astonishment. An account of the habitual mode of life of such a man cannot fail to be an object of interest. He was through life an early riser, and as his dress was plain in the extreme and always military, a few minutes of a morning served him to arrange it—boots always made a portion of it. Every minute from five in the morning till ten at night had its regular allotment. His first employment was to peruse and answer all the papers that were addressed to him from all parts of his dominions; the lowest of his subjects and strangers of every country being allowed to address themselves to his Majesty direct. Every proposal was to be made, and every favour to be asked in writing, and a single word written with a pencil in the margin directed his Secre-

tary as to the reply. About eleven the King appeared in his garden and reviewed his regiment of guards; and this was done at the same hour by all the generals and colonels in all the provinces. At twelve precisely he dined, generally in company with some of his officers. Two hours after dinner he retired to his own study to read or to compose. At seven he had a private concert, in which he frequently himself partook, for he played the flute with the skill of a professor. The concert was followed by a supper, to which few were admitted except literary men and philosophers.

A declared unbeliever in revealed religion, he was fearless of the extinction of his life, being at any time as ready to commit suicide as to incur danger in battle; whatever were his notions on the subject of a religious faith, his morals were uniformly guided by no other rule than his own pleasure or interest. He rejoiced in the society of wits and learned men, and his conversation with them was always very lively and brilliant. On these occasions he discarded etiquette, in order to render their intercourse more free and pleasant. He never even restrained any remarks levelled at himself. He was also most indulgent towards the writings of his literary friends, holding all calumny in utter contempt, so that the liberty of the press in his time was very considerable. "It is my business," said he, "to do the duties of my station and to let malevolence say what it will." Something like this saying is recorded of the Emperor Titus. One day he saw a crowd opposite his windows reading a satirical placard against his person, when he sent a servant to lower it that the people might read it the easier. He could be very sarcastic and quick at repartee, and he delighted to draw out men into some absurdity for his own and his company's amusement. When he was told that some one had abused him for these things, he asked whether his enemy had an army of 100,000 men. "No, sire," replied the courtier. "Then," said Frederick, "I can have nothing to do with him: if he had a powerful army at his command, I would declare war against him."

From his early habit of playing the flute he carried his head a little on one side, and latterly sat on horseback with a bent body and a loose seat; but he was a good horseman in early life, and was fond of the chase, and he retained to the last his love of dogs: of these he had numbers continually around him, some of which even slept in his bed. When they died he had them buried in a mausoleum in his garden, and he directed that at his death his own body should be placed in the midst of them—the only order this great king ever gave that could have been safely disobeyed.

## 2. THE PORTE PUTS DOWN AN INSURRECTION IN EGYPT.

Egypt had long been a prey to the contentions of rebel Beys, one of whom, Murad, had taken possession of the lower part of that country. The Porte accordingly sent out a powerful armament under the command of Hassan Bey, the Capudan Pacha, who sailed for the Nile, and landed his forces at Rosetta. Proceeding to Cairo he gave Murad and the Beys a total and bloody defeat in the suburbs of that

city, which he entered, and obliged the rebels to take refuge in Upper Egypt.

### 3. REFLECTIONS. THIS YEAR THE TURNING-POINT OF PEACE AND WAR.

A very deceitful calm at this period overspread the world, and the most sagacious could not see the signs of the times. Despotism had lent its aid to the growth of liberty, and freedom of thought and speech was every where become prevalent. The day had been gained, the sunset was serene, the night was fair, but a terrible dark cloud of passions and crimes was overshadowing the morning sky, and the fury of the torrents was about to be let loose on the world. The old governments of Europe were in a state of approaching paralysis, the governed awakening to their strength were only kept down in every country by standing armies, between which and the citizens there was a broad line of dissatisfaction. A passion for innovation, partly consequent on the success of the Americans in establishing their freedom, embraced all people and overwhelmed all understandings. The Seven Years' War had set an example of the aggrandizement of kings and the spoliation of their subjects, while the partition of Poland showed a lust of power in the mighty not to be restrained by those obligations which bound the masses in their intercourse with each other. An universal love of playing at soldiers after the manner of Frederick of Prussia infected every court, and a very *petit-maitre* spirit was engendered by it, that disgusted the people. The ancient respect given to station and power was unbinged, and now that the lock of the door was broken, it was seen that in the interior of cabinets all was selfish; no public spirit, no desire to amend institutions or to ameliorate the condition of the governed existed within. The storm was in truth at this moment distant, there was no war in any part of the world this year, but sulphurous fires were slumbering that might be heard by the thoughtful, while "villainous saltpetre" was ready prepared in "the harmless earth." Mars might have been considered to have just died in the person of Frederick, but Bellona still held the reins of the chariot, and was preparing to launch a thunderbolt upon the world sufficient to rouse the hero again out of his sepulchre.

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## 1787.

1. THE PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK ENTERS HOLLAND WITH PRUSSIAN TROOPS.—2. THE BRITISH ARM IN DEFENCE OF PRUSSIA AND HOLLAND AGAINST FRANCE.—3. THE STADTHOLDER OF HOLLAND RETURNS TO THE HAGUE IN TRIUMPH.—4. INTERVIEW OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AND THE EMPRESS CATHARINE AT CHERSON.—5. THE TURKS DECLARE WAR BY COMMITTING THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SEVEN TOWERS.—6. STATE OF FRANCE.

### 1. THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK ENTERS HOLLAND WITH PRUSSIAN TROOPS.

After the disgrace put upon him by the States General the Prince Stadtholder had removed his court to Nimeguen, where an ineffectual attempt at negotiation had been carried on. The Prussian royal family were closely allied with and interested for the family of Nassau, but the death of Frederick the Great was nevertheless no great loss to them, for that King had always been inclined to favour French policy, which was at this time openly exerted in favour of the party opposed to the Stadtholder. The Duke of Brunswick (better known to us in the late war as the Hereditary Prince) was sent to his aid to command the Dutch army, and knew he could rely in a great degree on the officers, but was not so confident of the soldiers. On the 10th of June, however, Colonel Balnearis persuaded his own and another battalion stationed with him at Oudewater to join the Stadtholder, and the example seemed instantly to infect the whole line, for in less than a week two-thirds of the army of the country joined the Duke. Making the first movement, he took possession of the towns of Wyk, Duerstede, and Harderwyk, and advanced near Utrecht, when the whole province of Zealand declared in the Prince of Orange's favour. The new King of Prussia was disposed also to act in defence of his brother-in-law, and united his influence with that of the King of Great Britain in defence of the Prince Stadtholder. While affairs stood thus his consort, a high-spirited princess, and on that account disliked by the popular party, undertook a journey to the Hague for the purpose of making some proposals from her husband to the States General, but on the 28th of June she was arrested with her suite by a body of armed burghers and some inimical cavalry, who carried her back as prisoner to Schonhoven, but at length permitted her to return to Nimeguen, though not without experiencing very insolent treatment from the soldiers who had her in custody. This indignity offered to his sister roused the spirit of the Prussian monarch, who insisted that immediate satisfaction should be made for the insult. The States of Holland in these circumstances urged the court of Versailles to come to their aid, who talked of assembling a camp at Givet, but notwithstanding this the Duke of Brunswick began his march with 18,000 men. The republican chiefs, relying on French assistance, resolved to make a stand at Amsterdam. Brunswick advanced upon the 18th of September on the important post of Halt-Wegen, which connected the Lake of Haarlem with the Y; this was well fortified, but not sufficiently garrisoned. About 800 men sent in boats at night made a fierce attack on its surprised occupants, and soon reduced it, but the post at Amstelveen was so strong in front that an assault upon it seemed hopeless. On the 1st of October the Duke nevertheless made preparations to attack it; while a detachment passing a branch of the lake approached the rear. The latter corps having stormed a battery and some traverses, halted near the village. The intrenchment in front was quickly stormed by the Duke.

## 2. THE BRITISH ARM IN DEFENCE OF PRUSSIA AND HOLLAND AGAINST FRANCE.

The court of St. James's, on seeing the determination of France to enter into the Dutch contest, declared its determination to defend the Prussian intervention if the court of Versailles attacked it; and the British Parliament voted unanimously to take 2000 Hessians into English pay, and agreed to stand by Prussia and Holland, either with men or money, two months after requisition.

## 3. THE STADTHOLDER OF HOLLAND RETURNS TO THE HAGUE IN TRIUMPH.

The unaccountable neglect of the Lake of Haarlem by the republicans averted the impending storm by occasioning the Duke of Brunswick's speedy triumph, for he entered Amsterdam on the 10th of October. The Prussians in these attacks lost 154 men. The triumph of the Stadtholder's party was complete; the Prince of Orange being restored to all his rights and prerogatives, made a triumphal entry into the Hague, reinstated in all his former, and even with some additional privileges.

## 4. INTERVIEW OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH AND THE EMPRESS CATHARINE AT CHERSON.

The Empress Catharine of Russia selected the summer of this year for making a triumphant entry into her newly-acquired territory of Cherson, on the banks of the Dnieper, and here she met the Emperor Joseph II. This restless sovereign, convinced that Britain and France were enfeebled by the American war, desired to ally himself with the Czarina that he might take advantage of the death of Frederick to wrest from Prussia the never-pardoned acquisition of the province of Silesia.

## 5. THE TURKS DECLARE WAR BY COMMITTING THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SEVEN TOWERS.

The Ottoman Porte, still indignant at the occupation of the Crimea by Russia, and further irritated by the arrogance of the Czarina in making a triumphant progress to the Turkish frontier, as well as by her various manifestations of hostility against the Turkish empire, commenced hostilities in its usual manner by committing M. Bulgakov a prisoner to the Seven Towers, and deposed the Hospodar of Moldavia, who was suspected of a traitorous correspondence with St. Petersburg and Vienna. The Capudan Pacha was recalled from Egypt and placed at the head of an army on the Russian frontiers.

The Russian army in the Crimea, under Prince Potemkin, overcame the Sheik of the Tartars on the 1st of October, and after three several actions the Sheik's forces were scattered and all their habitations plundered and destroyed by fire.

A singular spectacle was this year witnessed at Constantinople, a splendid embassy being received with great honour by the Sultan from Tippoo Sahib, for the purpose of establishing a league between the Mahometan powers, so as to gather strength for the contest that he saw was again impending with the British forces in India.

## 6. STATE OF FRANCE.

The disordered state of the French finances consequent on the expenses of the late war, and the extravagance of the court led to an appeal to the people by a convention of Notables, which was opened by the King on the 22nd of February, and again dissolved on the 25th of May. An attempt was then made to levy money by royal edicts, but these the Parliaments refused to register. The King, accordingly, accompanied by his family and all his court, attended in person to enforce obedience to the royal authority/ but in vain. The minister, Calonne, then resigned, and petitions were sent to the King to convoke the States General of the nation.

1788.

1. THE ROYAL ENGINEERS.—2. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA, THE EMPIRE, AND THE PORTE.—3. SWEDEN AND DENMARK ENTER INTO THE CONTEST.—4. THE IMPERIAL GENERAL, ALVINZI, ADVANCES UPON BELGRADE.—5. THE EMPEROR PLACES HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY.—6. THE GRAND VIZIER ENTERS UPON THE CAMPAIGN.—7. THE TURKS ATTACK THE PRINCE OF COBURG AT ROHATIN.—8. THE EMPEROR AND GRAND VIZIER OPPOSED AT BELGRADE.—9. VICTORY OF THE PRINCE OF NASSAU OVER THE TURKS AT KINBURN.—10. THE PRINCE OF COBURG BESIEGES AND TAKES CHOCZIM.—11. THE GRAND VIZIER INVADES THE BANNAT OF TEMESWAR.—12. NOVI CAPITULATES TO MARSHAL LOUDON.—13. NAVAL WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS.—14. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND SWEDS IN THE BALTIC.—15. NAVAL BATTLE OFF HOOGLAND—THE DUKE OF SUDERMANN—ADMIRAL GREIG.—16. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDS AND DANES IN NORWAY.—17. THE TURKS DEFEATED BY THE RUSSIANS IN THE LIMAN OF THE BLACK SEA.—18. THE RUSSIANS UNDER POTESKIN CAPTURE OCZAKOW.—19. WAR IN INDIA.

## 1. THE ROYAL ENGINEERS.

In this year the corps of Engineers, hitherto deemed a civil establishment, was made military. It may surprise many, as it did myself, to learn this fact, for it is singular that our military authorities should have been so long unmindful of one of the first requisites of war—a corps of the most skilful and best informed officers. Such a body must have been at all times most desirable, and the attack and defence of fortified places had not been much practised by England in her wars. Nevertheless there had been some sieges, and these must always have been under their direction. It is certain that in the year 1759 the then establishment did not exceed sixty-one officers, who had only military rank as honorary for the attainment of quarters, and yet the French, it is believed, had established its regular *corps de génie* much before this time, and even in the days of Vauban. It must only be supposed that the Prussian example which governed our military polity at this time had retarded the existence of the engineers as a sepa-

rate corps, for we have seen that Frederick was not sensible of their importance. They were now included in the Mutiny Act under the appellation of "Military Artificers;" and by some it was thought to be a matter of great constitutional importance to include civilians, as these engineers were regarded, under martial law.

## 2. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA, THE EMPIRE, AND THE PORTE.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment which the news of the unexpected decision of the Porte for war occasioned at St. Petersburg: nevertheless, the manifesto issued by Russia betrayed no symptoms of consternation. The Emperor Joseph on his part announced to the Porte that he was ready as the friend and ally of Russia to furnish her with 80,000 men in the event of a war. Frederick William of Prussia tried to dissuade the Emperor from entering into the quarrel; but he answered haughtily, "The sword is drawn, and it shall not be restored to the scabbard till I have regained all that has been wrested from my house, and you are not the man to dissuade me, for it was you who robbed my mother."

Four imperial armies were now ordered to be assembled: one at Carlstadt in Croatia, under the command of General de Vins; another at Peterwaradin, in Hungary, under General Langlois; a third, under General Febris, on the borders of Lithuania; and a fourth in the Bukovine, under the orders of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. The Emperor at the same time also sent General Alvinzi as his commissioner with the armies of the Czarina.

## 3. SWEDEN AND DENMARK ENTER INTO THE CONTEST.

But a new enemy now appeared on the scene against Russia. The King of Sweden, irritated against the court of St. Petersburg, which had constantly fostered the discontents of his country, and (as it was thought) subsidized by the Porte, assembled an army of 35,000 men in order to embark them for Finland. Gustavus dismissed the Russian Ambassador, and a declaration of war from the court of St. Petersburg followed. Denmark not only refused to join Sweden, but actually concluded a defensive alliance with Russia. King Gustavus had therefore a double contest on his hands. A body of Swedish troops accordingly penetrated to Gottenburg.

## 4. THE IMPERIAL GENERAL, ALVINZI, ADVANCES UPON BELGRADE.

Before any declaration of hostilities had been issued by the Emperor, General Alvinzi passed the Saave with six chosen regiments of Imperial infantry, and advanced in the greatest secrecy and silence during the night of the 20th of December, 1787, for the purpose of surprising the Turkish fortress of Belgrade. It was intended that this general should have been joined there by General Gunningen, who was to have fallen down the Danube at the same time with an equal number of men, together with some artillery and Croats; but through some failure this last corps did not arrive, so that when day broke, Alvinzi found himself without cover, exposed to the view of the town and the fire of the batteries. The surprise on one side, and

## 26 THE TURKS ATTACK THE PRINCE OF COBURG. [A.D.

the dismay and confusion on the other may be readily conceived. The Governor Pacha behaved with wonderful coolness, and sent a polite message to express his surprise to see in a moment of peace this appearance of troops within the territory of the Sultan, and in the precincts of a fortified city. Alvinzi returned a shuffling answer, and made such haste to repass the river and get away that many men were said to be drowned, and the regiment of Esterhazy suffered considerably in the retreat. An equally unworthy attempt was made to storm the fortress of Turkish Gradisca, which failed with the loss of eighty-two men killed and 349 wounded. The Imperialists were, however, more successful at Drassmik, and some other small places, in one of which they put the garrison to the sword.

### 5. THE EMPEROR PLACES HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY.

A declaration of war was at length made on the 10th of February, and the Emperor joined his army on the Danube about the middle of April, when he found the small fortress of Schabatz already invested: the town was taken by storm on the 21th, and the garrison of 800 men retired into the citadel, which surrendered the following day. On the very same day Prince Lichtenstein's army, having made regular approaches, attempted to carry Dubicza by storm, but were encountered in the breach by the garrison, and were routed, defeated, and pursued with much slaughter. A reinforcement suddenly arrived to the Turks of 12,000 men, who attacked the Imperialists with incredible fury, destroyed all their intrenchments, and forced them to raise the siege and repass the river Unna. The Austrians lost 120 men killed, and 400 men wounded, with many men of rank in both lists.

### 6. THE GRAND VIZIER ENTERS UPON THE CAMPAIGN.

The Grand Vizier, Jussuf Pacha, at the opening of the campaign took the command of an army of 200,000 men, with which he encamped at Silistria in Bulgaria. The Capudan Pacha had taken command of the fleet in the Archipelago, while that on the Black Sea was committed to the conduct of a Vice-Admiral of the same name and title, Hassan Bey, which his superior had formerly rendered so eminent. Next to the defeat or destruction of a Russian fleet, nothing could be so interesting to the Porte as the recovery of Kinburn, for it was directly opposite to Oczakow, and it was dangerous to have a station for the Russian fleets so near it. This fortress was now under the command of the Prince of Nassau. Hassan Bey, though reputed a man of great courage and enterprise, and held to be the best seaman in the Ottoman service, found such insubordination amongst the commanders in his squadron, that though he spent a few days at Oczakow, he returned to Constantinople from thence without making any attempt upon Kinburn.

### 7. THE TURKS ATTACK THE PRINCE OF SAXE-COBURG AT ROHATIN.

The first considerable action which took place after the repulse at Dubicza, was an attack made by the Turks upon the Prince of Saxe-



Coburg, who commanded in the Bukovine. This Prince had crossed the Dniester with the intention of establishing himself in Moldavia, and cutting off all supplies from the garrison of Chocsim, and he was now posted with a considerable body of forces on the heights of Rohatin, waiting to be joined by a Russian army. Suddenly he was attacked with great fury, but defended himself stoutly for three hours, making great havoc with his artillery, until he was joined by the rest of his army, when the Prince obliged the enemy to retreat; but the Turks bringing up reinforcements renewed the attack again in the evening, and night was scarcely sufficient to separate the combatants. The battle was renewed next morning; and for the two following days the cessations were so short, that it may be regarded as almost a continuous action with various success, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, until at length the adverse armies desisted without any decisive advantage to either side. The loss of the Turks was prodigious, nor could it be small on the side of the Imperialists; but the intrepidity and enthusiasm of the Turks led to rashness and recklessness, and their bravery induced a much greater respect from the Austrians than they had been at first willing to entertain for their adversary.

#### 8. THE EMPEROR AND GRAND VIZIER OPPOSED AT BELGRADE.

The capture of Belgrade had been held out as the first great object of the Imperial campaign; and therefore vast preparations were made for a siege. Three bridges were thrown over the Saave about the end of May or beginning of June, and an enormous train of battering cannon brought forward from Semlin and other neighbouring garrisons. The Grand Vizier now quitted Silistria, and with 80,000 men advanced for its protection. He posted the Ottoman army with the Danube in his front, and his left covered by Belgrade and the river Saave, having on his right the fortress of New Orsova. Thus unassailable in a most judicious and excellent position, he in a great measure commanded the course of both rivers, and had it in his power to invade the enemy's territories in any direction. This judicious post produced an immediate change in the Emperor's plan of operations; the bridges over the Saave were withdrawn, and a camp established at Semlin, fortified on all sides, and every where covered by a prodigious artillery. At this point therefore the war now became merely defensive; but, as the season advanced, an enemy far more irresistible and destructive than the Turks desolated the Imperial army. The provinces bordering on the Danube are notoriously the most unhealthy in the world, and the Hungarian camp-fever began to decimate the army, whilst inaction produced discontent, and aggravated the disorder.

#### 9. VICTORY OF THE PRINCE OF NASSAU OVER THE TURKS AT KINBURN.

In the mean time the brave garrison of Oczakow, deserted by their fleet, determined to make an effort themselves to recover Kinburn. But the Russians had quietly reinforced the garrison, when, on the

28th of June, 5000 Turks under Kap-Pacha made a fierce attack on the fortress before day. So long as darkness endured the garrison were content to maintain the defensive successfully; but as soon as daylight appeared the Prince of Nassau sent forth his men from different gates, and nearly enclosed the enemy, whom they attacked on all three sides with great courage. A desperate action ensued, in which the Turks were routed, with a slaughter very considerable on both sides. The Russian Generals Beck and Suwarrow were here severely wounded. As soon as Suwarrow was seen by his soldiers wounded, his soldiers discouraged, fell into confusion and fled, when he leaped from out of his litter, and bleeding as he was, remounted his horse and rushed amongst them, exclaiming, "Children, I am still alive." They returned immediately to the attack, which was so vigorous, that the Turks were driven down to the water's edge, and there either killed or taken prisoners.

#### 10. THE PRINCE OF COBURG BESIEGES AND TAKES CHOCZIM.

The Prince of Coburg in his impatience at the delay of the Russian contingent made several desultory attacks upon Choczim, with batteries of heavy artillery and mortars, from the Polish side of the Dniester. The Seraskier who commanded the garrison returned the fire with such good effect, that the town of Braha was reduced to ashes; but the Russians under General Soltikow having at length arrived, preparations were made for seriously commencing the siege with their united forces. During the night of the 20th of July three Austrian and two Russian batteries were opened, and at break of day others were erected on the ruins of Braha. The firing now opened with dreadful effect, and shells, carcasses, red-hot balls, and other instruments of destruction were poured upon the devoted town; all the houses were reduced to ashes; the very palisades on the side of the fortress towards the river, and even the gabions on the bastions were consumed. The besieging Generals therefore on the 26th of July summoned the Turkish Governor to surrender, but the intrepid Seraskier demanded three days for deliberation, and artfully employed the time in making a strict inquisition into the state of his defences and resources. He found that his powder magazine was safe, and took precautions for its future security. Among the ruins of the town, under an immense pile of rubbish, he found considerable quantities of meal and grain unconsumed, though somewhat damaged. He had this collected and stored. He knew likewise that his garrison could not any longer be disturbed by the burning and falling of houses, for there were no more to fall: he therefore returned for answer that he did not find on due inquiry that he was under any necessity of surrendering the fortress. This unexpected answer astonished the besiegers, who had hoped a surrender, and now found they had to undertake the siege anew, and to carry on the fatigues and labours of it for two long succeeding months: at length on the 18th of September the heroic Seraskier, at the head of 2800 men, famished but unconquered, brought the siege to an end, and marched out of Choczim with all the honours of war.

### 11. THE GRAND VIZIER INVADERS THE BANNAT OF TEMESWAR.

The Grand Vizier, informed of the causes which kept his adversary quiescent at Belgrade, instead of following the defensive principle on which he began the war, now adopted measures which spread danger and tumult on all sides: he laid bridges over the Danube at Gladova, and on the 7th of August crossed a large detachment with a view of invading the Bannat of Temeswar, which reduced the Emperor to the dilemma either of leaving that province to be ruined, or of abandoning his strong camp at Semlin. Nothing could spread greater consternation and dismay through the Imperial armies, and even in the city of Vienna itself, than this bold invasion of the Bannat. Detachments were immediately despatched from Semlin to General Wartensleben, who commanded in that province—reinforcements from one side and the other following the two armies, with the Emperor and Grand Vizier at their head, into the field in the Bannat. Wartensleben was driven from the heights of Mehadia, and that city was lost, and soon afterwards Bursa was attacked, and though defended successfully, was with perseverance obtained at length by the Seraskier of Georgia.

On the 7th or 8th of August the Grand Vizier attacked the Austrian general, Papilla, in the neighbourhood of Old Orsova and Schappanck. In this battle two battalions of Rei-ky were cut to pieces by the rapidity and violence of the Ottoman onset; other divisions, broken and routed, fled into the neighbouring defiles for shelter, and were pursued with a deadly carnage. Thirteen pieces of cannon, with all the provisions, waggons, tents, baggage, and horses, became a prey to the conquerors, and Orsova with several small neighbouring places was set on fire. The Emperor with Marshal Lacy at the head of 40,000 men immediately marched to secure his communications with Transylvania, where Febris was already hard pressed by the enemy: and the Grand Vizier pursued and harassed the Imperialists on the march, though he did not bring them to action or intercept their movements, and the Austrian army arrived on the 20th of August at Weiskirchen. The Emperor five days later proceeded towards Karansebes, where he was joined on the 29th of August by General Wartensleben, who had been fairly dislodged from all his positions in and about Mehadia by the incessant and incredible perseverance of the Seraskier of Georgia. This chief now united his forces with those of the Grand Vizier, and both pressed hard upon the Imperial army, displaying no less boldness than ability in the choice of their positions. Mitrowski and Veteranski were both carried by the Ottomans on the 31st of August, after so brave a defence, that the Grand Vizier desired to see the intrepid Major who commanded, and treated him with great liberality and much praise. On the 14th of September a bold attempt was made by a considerable body of Turkish infantry and cavalry, to turn the Austrian left and attack the army in the rear, but this attempt did not entirely succeed, though a week later the Emperor found himself constrained to abandon his camp at Karansebes, and march to Lugos, pursued

by his relentless enemy. The retreat was discreditable and unfortunate. Terror, disorder, and confusion pervaded the Imperial forces. Two columns crossing or meeting in the dark, fired on each other, and 1400 men were sacrificed: horses, carriages, waggons, and baggage strewed the ways, and fell without trouble into the hands of the enemy. Artillery and arms were also taken, and 5000 men are said to have been lost before the army reached Lugos. The autumnal rains now began to fall with unusual violence, and the Turkish troops are ill calculated either by nature or circumstances to withstand the extremities of cold and wet. The Grand Vizier had, moreover, lost a prodigious number of men in the repeated bloody exertions of this short campaign. On the 20th of October he therefore commenced a retrograde movement on Belgrade. The Emperor trembling for his camp at Semlin pursued him instantly, and endeavoured in quality of pursuer to harass the Vizier's army on its march; but the Emperor's health had begun to give way, and he soon after quitted the camp and departed for Vienna. In the month of November an armistice was concluded for an indefinite term between the Austrian and Ottoman commanders.

It has been remarked as singular that Marshal Count Lacy, who had acquired such reputation and honour in former wars as to be considered among the first generals in Europe, is scarcely ever mentioned in the transactions of this campaign as a leader, though he made the whole of it in attendance upon the Emperor.

#### 12. NOVI CAPITULATES TO MARSHAL LOUDON.

Prince Lichtenstein's health had so suffered from the climate, that he now resigned the command of his army to the veteran Marshal Loudon, whose first enterprise was the siege and reduction of Dubicza, which he got possession of on the 26th of August, and proceeded directly to the siege of Novi, a still stronger fortress. Here he met with an obstinate resistance; and the Pacha of Travenik made a bold attempt to raise the siege, but was defeated. A breach having been effected on the night of the 21st of September, an assault was now attempted, but the place was so well defended that the Austrians were in their turn repulsed. At length, having made lodgments both on the breach and on the curtain, and brought artillery to play on the town, Novi capitulated on the 3rd of October. The Marshal then sat down before Gradisca, but the autumnal rains came on with so much violence, that the Sava overflowed its banks and obliged Loudon to raise the siege.

#### 13. NAVAL WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS.

Vast exertions had been made by Russia to prepare for the contest against the Turks. Potemkin, the grand favourite, was war minister, and could command what he chose. One hundred and fifty thousand men were under his immediate command, assisted by General Romanzow, Prince Repnin, General Soltikow, and other commanders of note. The army assembled on the 18th of June, on the banks of the river Bog. This great force was supported by a field-train of

...! pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, destined for the siege of Oczakow. A portion of this army under Romanzow had, as already stated, been despatched to support the Austrian army under the Prince of Coburg. Though the warlike preparations of Russia for the campaign were vast, the movements of her armies were extremely slow. She was not, however, so slack in her naval preparation, which was always with her a labour of love, irrespective of all expense in its pursuit. Here the Ottoman was notoriously weak, and one victory by sea would shake the security of the Turkish empire more than the loss of half a dozen battles on land. A powerful fleet of eighteen sail of the line, most of them heavy ships of high rates, and a cloud of frigates and other lighter vessels of war were accordingly equipped, and committed to the charge of Admiral Greig, a Scotchman, and a brave and distinguished seaman. This fleet was destined for the Mediterranean. The neutral powers beheld with implied or declared disapprobation this expedition, as they had done a former one in the previous war with Turkey; but Genoa offered her ports, and engaged to furnish the fleet with stores and supplies, which France and Spain positively refused. Without any communication with the British Government pilot-boats were engaged in England to guide the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean harbours, and merchants were found to procure eighteen large ships to serve as tenders for the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. As soon, however, as this transpired, a restraint was laid by the government on the seamen and shipping of England from entering into any foreign service. In this dilemma Russia applied to Holland, who also refused her aid. Many young Englishmen had accepted service as naval officers with the Russian fleet, and were in a dilemma how under these circumstances they ought to act, when the appointment of the notorious Paul Jones to a command in the Muscovite fleet at Cronstadt induced sixty British officers to go in a body and lay down their commissions. Nevertheless this gap was filled up, and another naval armament was prepared with no less industry for the service of the Black Sea. The Prince of Nassau was appointed to this command, which was composed of a numerous flotilla of frigates, galleys, gun-boats, and various descriptions of light vessels calculated to act near the shores and in shallow waters.

#### 14. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND SWEDES IN THE BALTIC.

Hostilities were commenced between the Russians and Swedes in Finland on the 21st of June, a few days after the King reached the army. The Swedish troops were for the most part successful in the petty actions which took place about the borders of Finland, and their approach towards St. Petersburg spread an uncommon alarm in the capital, where the whisper of danger had never been heard since the first laying of its foundations by Peter the Great. Admiral Greig, who was busy in the organization of the Mediterranean fleet, as already related, was immediately despatched with a strong fleet from Cronstadt to oppose the enemy in the Gulf of Finland. The

Swedish fleet was commanded by the Duke of Sudermania, the King's brother, and consisted of fifteen ships of the line, namely, one of 70 guns, three of 68, and eleven of only 60 guns each. The Russian fleet consisted of seventeen sail of the line, one of 108, eight of 74, and the remaining eight of 66 guns each, possessing on the whole a superiority of 294 pieces of cannon; but, on the other hand, the Swedes had five large frigates of 40 guns each, which Admiral Greig observed were of sufficiently heavy metal to fight in the line.

#### 15. NAVAL BATTLE OFF HOOGLAND.

The hostile fleets came in sight of each other off the island of Hoogland on the 17th of July, and the action commenced at five in the afternoon, with the wind, while it lasted, favourable to the Russians. National pride, animosity, a sense of former glory, and a deep recollection of past injuries animated the Swedes with all the influence that such a combination was capable of effecting; the contest, therefore, was carried on with such fury, that in two hours the number of disabled ships on either side was so great that the fleets were mutually obliged to draw off and refit. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a fresh accession of rage on both sides; night added to the difficulties, as each ship was in a great degree independent of the others. The Swedes seem to have had the advantage in this night action, though the Duke of Sudermania was surrounded and overborne by such a superiority of hostile force, that, but for the exertions of the gallant Count Horne, he must have been captured; but this nobleman and his two sons fell a sacrifice in their successful attempt to save the Prince. About ten o'clock at night the disorder, confusion, and ignorance of friends or adversaries in the darkness brought the action to a conclusion. The victory, as is usual in actions not absolutely decisive, was claimed by both sides; and each had an honourable trophy in support of their claim. The "Uladsilaaff" flag-ship, of 74 guns, commanded by Brigadier Bergen, struck to the Duke of Sudermania. The "Prince Gustaaf," 68, likewise a flag, and commanded by Count Wachtmeister, after having bravely fought till she was immovable, was taken by the Russians. Admiral Greig says in his despatch to the Russian court, "that he never saw a fight better sustained than this on both sides." This, however, accords but badly with the fact that he sent home seventeen captains in chains for their ill behaviour in the action. The loss on both sides must have been great from the nature and circumstances of the action, and was probably pretty equally balanced. All the fruits of victory were, however, speedily carried away by the Russian fleet, for being close to their naval magazines and arsenals, Admiral Greig was soon enabled to refit and put to sea again with greater force than before, and thus strengthened they came suddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sweaborg, where they were as inapprehensive of attack as incapable of defence. Assailed in a moment of consternation and surprise, the Swedes could not prevent Greig from capturing and burning the "Gustavus Adolphus," of 68 guns; and the Russians shut up the whole fleet

within the harbour, whilst they rode triumphantly in all the waters of the two gulfs.

The excellently constituted and well appointed army which the King of Sweden commanded in Finland would have been able to carry dismay and terror to the gates of St. Petersburg, but that ever since the conclusion of the peace of Abo Russia had assiduously endeavoured to debauch the Finlanders from their friendship with Sweden, and this had taken such deep root, that the ancient nobility, as well as the people, were tainted with hostility to the reigning sovereign. Gustavus, therefore, soon found that he could place no confidence in the army, since a general disaffection pervaded the officers, so that when at the siege of Fredericksham he commanded the assault, the officers refused to lead on the troops: he, indeed, appealed to some on whom he thought he could still rely, but to his utter astonishment and dismay, they for the most part grounded their arms. He therefore quitted the enterprise, and gave up the command of the army in Finland to the Duke of Ostrogothia, his second brother.

#### 16. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDES AND DANES IN NORWAY.

The King in great haste proceeded to the southern extremity of his dominions to oppose with very insufficient troops or means a violent irruption of the Danes from the side of Norway. On the 24th of September Prince Charles of Hesse, Viceroy of Norway, entered Sweden by the sea-coast with 12,000 men, and gained possession without resistance of Stromness and Uddewalla, when, having crossed the river Gotha, he came in sight of the great commercial town of Gothenburg; that important place was on the eve of capitulating, when the King arrived there by himself on the 3rd of October. He found no more than 5000 or 6000 men in the town, but he would not hear of surrender; and applied himself so effectually to the good offices of Mr. Elliott, the British minister at Copenhagen, and to the courts of Holland and Prussia, as mediators for maintaining the peace of the North, that the Prince of Hesse was induced to withdraw his troops back to Norway about the middle of November.

#### 17. THE TURKS DEFEATED BY THE RUSSIANS IN THE LIMAN OF THE BLACK SEA.

Several bloody engagements had taken place in the Liman estuary between the Capudan Pacha and the Prince of Nassau, in which all the skill and seamanship were on the side of the Russians—the Turks showing a total ignorance of the navigation even of those waters which had been for ages in their possession. Having failed to cannonade the Russian light fleet from their great ships with any effect, the Capudan Pacha had now hastily got together a light flotilla similar to that of the enemy, to follow him amid the shoals and channels within which he was ensconced about Kinburn; and with the boats from the ships of war and some frigates and galleys, forming altogether a considerable armament, he himself directed an attack with his usual eagerness and intrepidity in a frigate with

his standard displayed. The Russian flotilla was very advantageously posted, and in a great measure covered by the fire of the fortress. The Turkish vessels soon began to stick in the sands, and were torn to pieces by the incessant and excellently directed fire of the enemy. Nevertheless the Capudan Pacha bore down with gallantry on this vexatious little opposing squadron, but soon got himself so fast in the mud that his vessel could not by any exertions be got off. The fire from the town and the ships now played without mercy upon her, and set her on fire, and she was not brought off until she was nearly burned to the water's edge. Four other vessels, including a second flag, were burned, and two taken, and the scattered flotilla fled back to the shelter of the ships of the line, when the Turkish commander was compelled to go back to Varna to refit his fleet; but he soon appeared again in the same waters.

#### 18. THE RUSSIANS UNDER POTECHKIN CAPTURE OCZAKOW.

It was soon after the Turkish Admiral's return from Varna, on the 12th of July, that Prince Potemkin moved forward to invest Oczakow. As his battering train had not arrived, he amused himself by placing the guns he had in position to bombard the town and the Turkish fleet; and while this was going on from the land side, the Prince of Nassau increased the terror of the besieged by continued night attacks from his flotilla. The consequence was that the Ottoman fleet was utterly and totally annihilated, and the number of vessels and guns stated to have been destroyed appears almost incredible. Oczakow was garrisoned by about 20,000 choice troops, and the defence was, notwithstanding the injuries done to the fleet, carried on with vigour, obstinacy, and perseverance. The sallies of the garrison were frequent and desperately supported; not seldom successful, and always dangerous to the besiegers. It was extraordinary to behold so large a force of veteran soldiers, such able generals, so vast an artillery, and such efficient engineers as the Russians possessed, baffled by a single isolated fortress, bereft of its fleet, and detached from all hope or possibility of succour. Yet winter approached; the combatants on the Danube were already in winter-quarters; the cold had become insufferable, and the more intolerable from the scarcity of firewood in that bare and bleak region; the Russian cavalry, in defiance of all discipline and the influence of their commanders, deserted the camp. Prince Potemkin considered his honour, and perhaps his fortune, staked on the capture of Oczakow, and yet the prospect of taking it appeared almost as remote as on the first day of the siege. As a last effort he ordered on the 17th of December a general bombardment and cannonade of this place with red-hot balls. One of these luckily fell upon the grand powder magazine, which blew up with a terrible explosion, demolishing a considerable extent of the wall of the fortress. The Russians were immediately ordered to the assault. The Turks defended both the breach and the streets with the most desperate valour, and the brave Aga, who led them on, rejected all offers of quarter, and was of necessity cut to pieces; 7400 Turks



were either killed in the assault or sabred in the houses; and about 8000, with the Governor Pacha, became prisoners. The loss of the besiegers was set down at about 4000 killed and wounded, of whom 200 were officers; and 6000 Turks are said to have perished in the explosion.

### 19. WAR IN INDIA.

The Great Mogul, Shah Alum II., had been a pensioner on the bounty of Nujeif Khan, till the death of this Vizier in 1782, when the weakness of the Emperor raised against him in arms the nabobs of almost all the provinces, and civil war raged from one end of Hindostan to the other. In the midst of these commotions the Mahrattas appeared and swept all before them, till they in their turn were made to yield to the Rajpoots. A few years later, Ghoolam Khadir, a Rohilla chieftain, who had succeeded his father as Ameer-al-Omrah, rebelled against the unhappy sovereign, and taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs, marched suddenly to Delhi at the head of an army of Rohillas, when, putting the feeble Mahratta garrison which Scindiah had left there to flight, he entered the capital and possessed himself of the royal person. The Mahrattas, however, returned and defeated a division of the army which Ghoolam sent out to check them, and had Scindiah now pushed on with ordinary vigour the Ameer must have made himself master of Delhi. This, however, the Mahrattas neglected to do; but nevertheless upon Ghoolam's sallying out to remedy the reverse he had experienced, he found on his return the gates of the capital closed against him. After repeatedly summoning the city, he resolved to attempt an entrance by force; in this he was perfectly successful; and Shah Alum fell again into his hands, and was exposed to every indignity, and even to starvation, in order that his treasures might be discovered and plundered. It was during this period that most of the marble ornaments and fine old carved work of the palace were demolished; and for six weeks every species of torture was applied to the unhappy sovereign. His children were taken up and dashed on the stones before his eyes, and at last he himself was cast on the ground and his eyes stabbed out with a dagger in 1788. At the end of some months the Mahrattas returned, and compelled the Ameer again to yield up the capital, who endeavoured to make his way into his own country, but was intercepted and driven within the walls of Mirtha. Here he successfully withstood an assault, but in endeavouring to fly on a swift horse Ghoolam was overtaken and literally hewed to pieces. The blind Emperor was then nominally restored, and continued on the throne till 1803.

### 1789.

1. ON THE DEATH OF THE SULTAN THE GRAND VIZIER IS DEPOSED AND MURDERED.—2. PROGRESS OF THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF THE IMPERIALISTS—THE TURKS DEFEATED AND TERRIFIED

CAMP STORMED ON THE SEERETH.—3. MARSHAL LOUDON TAKES GRADISCA.—4. VICTORIES OF COBURG AT FOKSHANI AND MARTINJESTI OVER THE TURKS.—5. LOUDON TAKES BELGRADE.—6. BATTLE OF BENDER GAINED BY POTEMKIN OVER THE TURKS.—7. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDES AND RUSSIANS.—8. BLOODSHED IN THE NETHERLANDS—THE EMPEROR'S AUTHORITY OVERTHROWN.

# 1. ON THE DEATH OF THE SULTAN THE GRAND VIZIER IS DEPOSED AND MURDERED.

Great discontent prevailed at Constantinople on account of the loss of Choczim and Oczakow. Besides the slaughter of several thousands of their veteran and best troops, including their bravest and most adventurous officers, who could not be replaced so readily in the Turkish armies, the Russians were now in the heart of the Ottoman dominions, both on the side of the Black Sea and in their Danubian Principalities. All the blame was laid upon the unfortunate Grand Vizier. The Sultan was almost his only friend, and certainly the only person who entertained a due sense of his merit, abilities, and services. This excellent sovereign, however, was taken ill suddenly, and, notwithstanding all the aid of medicine, expired on the 7th of April, not without suspicion of poison. He was succeeded by his nephew, Selim III., whom he had carefully bred up and educated, to the prejudice of his own issue, in pious conformity to the last request of his dying brother and predecessor; but this man soon showed himself unworthy of all this care. The great wealth of the Grand Vizier, and his unpopularity, pointed him out as the first victim to the avarice and rapacity of the new sovereign's character; and notwithstanding his eminent abilities and the pressing need of them at this dangerous juncture, Jussuf Pacha was seized at the head of the grand army at Rustchuk and conveyed to Constantinople, where he was sentenced to the confiscation of all his wealth, and to banishment. On his way to the place of exile, however, he was murdered, and his head conveyed to Constantinople, where it was set up on the gates of the seraglio. The Pacha of Widdin was appointed Grand Vizier immediately, and sent off to the command of the army.

# 2. PROGRESS OF THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF THE IMPERIALISTS—THE TURKS DEFEATED AND THEIR CAMP STORMED ON THE SEERETH.

Upon the expiration of the armistice, the war recommenced between the Turks and Austrians along the frontiers of Transylvania, and on the banks of the Danube, whilst the Russians acted partly in concert with them and partly singly, and pushed their successes on every quarter, advancing upon the enemy in all the pride and security of assured triumph and easy victory. The Ottomans on the other hand, in consequence of ill success, predestinarianism, superstition, and terror, seemed to sink in their character, and expecting nothing but defeat, were already beaten in fact before a blow was struck. In the last days of April General Dorfelden

gained a considerable victory over one army of Turks on the river Sereth in Moldavia, where the Pacha commanded, and a number of soldiers were made prisoners, and many killed and drowned in the river. On the 1st of May the Turkish camp was stormed, and about 1500 Turks killed; and the camp with its artillery, magazines, &c., became a prey to the victors.

### 3. MARSHAL LOUDON TAKES GRADISCA.

On the opposite end of the line Marshal Loudon, with the Austrian troops in Croatia, was making preparation for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, which had so manfully and repeatedly withstood all attempts to reduce it in the previous year. Having brought forward a great force of artillery, both battering guns and mortars, he commenced operations, without breaking ground, with a most vigorous bombardment. This, which was done to dispirit the garrison, had an effect which the Marshal had no reason to expect. On the morning of the second day's bombardment, June 20th, the Turks evacuated the fortress, marching off on the side towards the mountains, bag and baggage, and in good order. They were not interrupted, the conquerors being well enough satisfied with this cheap success. Indeed, the Bosniac population on this side, being Mussulmans, were by no means a safe people to venture amongst, for they had displayed acts of the most desperate and ferocious valour in the small frontier war which had been all along going on in defence of their homes and property. As soon, therefore, as Loudon found himself in secure possession of Gradisca, he immediately commenced with the utmost assiduity his preparations for the siege of Belgrade.

### 4. VICTORIES OF COBURG AT FOKSHANI AND MARTINJESTI OVER THE TURKS.

A Turkish Seraskier was encamped near Fokshani in Wallachia with an army of 30,000 men, and here on the 31st of July the Prince of Coburg and Suwarrow, with a much inferior force, attacked him in his camp, which was carefully fortified. They gained a most complete victory, taking prisoners the Seraskier and a number of his principal officers, with above 5000 men, and the whole army was dispersed and ruined. The artillery and spoils of the camp, with all the magazines in the town, passed into the hands of the victors. The Emperor on his sick bed in Vienna, and all the inhabitants, were seized with an excess of joy at the arrival of the trophies of this battle. It was the first victory of any moment which the Imperialists had gained in the course of the war.

General Kamenskoi, commanding the Russian forces in Bessarabia, had blockaded a garrison of Turks in Bender all through the winter, cutting off their communications and intercepting their supplies. Bender was accordingly reduced to great distress, and a Seraskier at the head of 7000 or 8000 spahis, or Turkish cavalry, was sent to conduct relief to the garrison. The Prince of Anhalt-Bernburg in command of a detachment went out to intercept this convoy, and came up with it near Caushan, where, though inferior in force, he

instantly attacked the Turks and totally routed and dispersed them, taking the Seraskier prisoner, and possessing himself of their convoy and all they possessed.

The Grand Vizier had moved forward across the Danube, and advanced into Wallachia at the head of 90,000 or 100,000 men. The combined forces of Austria and Russia, under the command of the Prince of Coburg and General Suwarrow, came up with them at Rimnik, near Martinjesti, and on the 22nd of September gained with little difficulty, and with scarcely any loss, one of the most signal and extraordinary victories of modern times. It was a bold and hardy step to attack such numbers with a force that did not exceed 80,000 men, but it was done with such effect that the whole Turkish force were routed, dispersed, and pursued with immense slaughter. Five thousand Turks were killed in the battle, and 2000 in the pursuit; few or no prisoners were made; and the whole camp as it stood became the property of the victors, together with the Grand Vizier's tent and equipage, 800 camels, 400 oxen, 8000 tents, 100 standards, and nearly 100 cannon, with ammunition, stores, and baggage. The loss of the victors did not exceed 100 men killed and wounded. The Grand Vizier had the ill fortune to escape, and shortly after paid for his incompetency with his head. Such was his arrogance and folly, that on taking the command of the army, he had caused an immense quantity of iron chains to be made, with which to manacle the legions of Austria and Russia, whom he expected to lead captive through the city of Constantinople. The Prince of Coburg was raised by these consecutive victories to a high pinnacle of military renown in the Empire. The Emperor promoted him immediately to the rank of Field-Marshal, and the Czarina gave him a box ornamented with diamonds of immense value.

#### 5. LOUDON TAKES BELGRADE.

On the 12th of September Loudon's army was encamped on the heights of Dedina near Belgrade, and the trenches were speedily opened and batteries constructed against both the Upper and Lower Town. The fatal defeat at Martinjesti, and the general misfortunes which at this time attended the Ottomans every where, doubtless had a depressing effect on the spirit of the besieged. A terrible cannonade and bombardment formed a prelude to the assault which was made on the 30th, when all the suburbs and outworks of the place were carried sword in hand; and on the 8th of October, the Austrians having advanced their batteries within 150 yards, and nearly filled the ditch with fascines, Osman Pacha, the Governor, requested an armistice for sixteen days. This was of course refused, and he was obliged to submit to necessity and capitalate. About 300 pieces of artillery and an immense quantity of stores and ammunition were found in the place.

#### 6. BATTLE OF BENDER GAINED BY POTESKIN OVER THE TURKS.

About this time Hassan Pacha, thinking that the star of good fortune, which had hitherto attended him, might prove auspicious to

his country, quitted the command of the Black Sea fleet, and undertook that of the Turkish army in Bessarabia. He met the Russian armies under Potemkin and Repnin at Tobak, not far from Bender. The Turks determined to commit all to the dangerous decision of a battle, and advanced under their new leader with somewhat of their former confidence and courage; but the Grand Admiral's fortune was now to desert him. After a hard-fought battle, which he obstinately maintained for several hours, his army was totally defeated with the loss of several thousand men, and the greater part, if not all, of his artillery. This battle decided the fate of Bender, which was surrendered in the middle of November.

Bialagrod (more generally known as Ackerman), situated at the mouth of the Dniester, likewise fell, as also Kilia Nova, at the northern mouth of the Danube. Bucharest, and the strong fortresses of Czernitz and Gladova, in Servia, yielded themselves to the Austrian forces, who also laid siege to New Orsova, which was bombarded with red-hot balls and every other missile, but the spirit of the besieged was not subdued, and the arrival of winter obliged the Austrians to raise the siege.

#### 7. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDES AND RUSSIANS.

At the close of the last year, at the very summit of his fortune, Admiral Greig had died, and received a pompous funeral from his grateful adopted country, and the Prince of Nassau was now withdrawn from the Black Sea, and appointed to the command of the Russian fleet in the Baltic. The Duke of Sudermania continued to command the Swedish fleet, and arrived for that purpose at Carlscrona pretty early in June. The King of Sweden, involved in party differences at home, but secure, through the interposition of the British minister, of the neutrality of Denmark, now returned to Finland to prosecute the war with Russia. Several skirmishes had taken place towards the latter end of May between the contending armies, that of Sweden commanded by General Mayersfeldt, and that of the Russians under Count Mushkin Pushkin; but on the 28th of June a severe action was fought at Dainstadt, in Finland, between 2200 Swedes under Count Platen (in which the King served as a volunteer), and 3600 Russians. The contention was obstinate and bloody, but the Russians, after a long and terrible fire on both sides, pushed so vigorously with the bayonet against the Swedes, that these were put into confusion and driven back. Gustavus, however, throwing himself from his horse, rallied his infantry and drove the enemy before him, when he routed them, and took their camp.

The Duke of Sudermania sailed from Carlscrona with the Swedish fleet in the beginning of July, and found the Russian fleet lying at Revel. His object was to prevent its junction with the squadron in the Sound, and on the 26th he brought them to action. This commenced at two o'clock, and a distant and languid fire was continued on each other till eight in the evening. But the Swedes could not prevent the junction taking place, for the Russians proceeded on their course and effected it in their enemy's despite, which gave

them an immediate superiority. This they now maintained through the whole campaign; and as they were thus enabled to keep the sea, they spread terror along the whole Swedish coasts, so that the city of Stockholm itself was not a little alarmed under the apprehension of a descent upon it.

On the 25th of August, having been joined by a fleet of galleys, the Swedish navy made a gallant attempt near Bogensalm to recover the supremacy. This battle is said to have been fought with a ferocity and bloodshed unequalled in modern warfare: the men in the galleys fought hand to hand with every instrument of destruction which chance or rage presented. Galleys were seen dismantled and sinking, the decks strewn with dead and dying, while the cannon boomed over the combatants and added terror to the contest. The Russian fleet, under the Prince of Nassau and Admiral Kruse, numbered seventy vessels, while the Swedish, under Ehrenswärd, Fleetwood, and Rosenstein, numbered no more than forty, so that no valour could compensate this inequality, and the Swedes were accordingly in the end worsted. Several vessels were sunk, blown up, or driven on the rocks; and the Swedish Major, Hagenherson, finding it impossible to save his ship from being boarded, blew himself up along with it.

On land some actions of no great moment had taken place; one of the most remarkable was the defeat given to the Russian General, De Schulz, by the Swedish General, Baron de Stedinck, in which some 600 Russians were either killed or wounded, and their arms, baggage, tents, and artillery taken. The King now entered the Russian territory, and took the fortified seaport called Hogfors, which he thought might serve him as a place of arms, both by sea and land; but the misadventure that had happened to his fleet obliged him soon to retreat out of Russian Finland, and to recross the river Kymene, which he did successfully, covered by the rearguard under General Kaulban. His fine army had suffered most severely, his treasury was exhausted, and he had nothing but gloom and discontent to meet him at home. The Russians, however, were not in a condition to follow him, and earlier than usual both armies went into winter-quarters—Gustavus returning to his capital.

#### 8. BLOODSHED IN THE NETHERLANDS—THE EMPEROR'S AUTHORITY OVERTHROWN.

The mistaken policy of the Emperor Joseph, unwisely active every where at the same moment, had by this time driven the inhabitants of the Low Countries into open revolt against his authority; and in a brief space of time nearly all the nobility, gentry, and clergy, irritated by the tyranny of the civil Governor, Count Trautmansdorff, openly declared against the Emperor, who was so occupied by the war on the Danube, and so impoverished by it, that he could not spare 1000 men to support his cause, whilst he himself was prostrate on a bed of sickness. The Netherlanders venerated the constitution under which they had been long governed, a sort of Magna Charta that they called *Joyeuse Entrée*, from the triumphant entry of their prince into the capital on the day it was obtained. The

Emperor by two edicts swept away this ancient constitution of the state, and suppressed all the religious orders of the Church with a view of confiscating their revenues. All ranks, accordingly, were turned against him, and there were serious revolts on the 13th and 26th of July at Tirlemont and Louvain, and blood flowed there, as well as at Malines and Antwerp. The Duke d'Ahremberg, the Archbishop of Malines, and many members of the suppressed Grand Council assembled at Breda, and on the 14th of September constituted and declared themselves to be the legal assembly of the United Belgic States. A few weeks after some militia and volunteers were enrolled and assembled under their own officers, and towards the end of October the first acts of open hostility took place: a body of insurgents surprised and took with little difficulty the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, and drove out the Emperor's garrisons. Here, besides the military stores, they seized a considerable sum of public money, as also a frigate which had been stationed to maintain the freedom of the Scheldt in the former year. General d'Alton, upon the first intelligence of this invasion, immediately despatched General Count Schröder at the head of 4000 Imperial troops, on whose advance the insurgents relinquished the two forts, and retired to the small town of Turnhout. Here they were pursued by the troops, who came up with them just as they entered within the gates on the 27th of October. The Imperialist troops immediately forced the gates, made good their entrance into the town, and arrived in good order in the market-place; but an unexpected scene followed; a tremendous fire of small arms was opened upon them from the roofs and windows of the surrounding houses, whilst a roar of artillery saluted them from different openings. In this dangerous position General Schröder exhibited great personal courage, and no less presence of mind. Two horses were shot under him; but all his efforts were fruitless in endeavouring to restore order among his troops, or to inspire them with sufficient constancy to endure this galling fire to which they were exposed; they fell into irremediable confusion, and made a most disorderly retreat out of the town by the gate at which they had entered, leaving 700 men and two pieces of cannon behind them.

The Emperor was indignant at some of his best troops having been here defeated by a rabble, and recalled General Schröder in disgrace. General Bender was then sent from Luxemburg to assist General d'Alton in allaying the insurrection. The success at Turnhout, however, was the signal for a general organization of a patriotic state and army. They were joined by French democrats on the south, and by Dutch democrats from the north, and soon became formidable. On hearing, about the middle of November, that the patriots were making head at Tirlemont, General d'Alton sent General Bender against them. Bender, not having the example of Schröder before his eyes, forced his way into the place sword in hand, when the inhabitants roused themselves and played the game of Turnhout over again. The Austrians were thoroughly defeated, and driven out of the place with great shame and grief. The loss of

lives in this paltry affair was said to amount to 1300 of both sexes, and all ages and conditions. General Bender availed himself of nightfall to march off, and in the dark encountered General d'Alton marching with a strong detachment to his assistance. Each party mistaking its opposite for an enemy fired, and in the encounter several hundreds were killed before the error was discovered. Within a few days the Brabant patriots having defeated the Austrian detachment under General d'Arberg in the open field somewhere near Alost, they were driven across the Scheldt after a bloody action; and they would have been entirely cut off but for the noble stand made by the regiment of Bender. In this encounter a Prince of Anhalt-Dessau fell. The patriots now got possession of Ostend, Bruges, Louvain, and some other considerable places without a contest; and early in the morning of November the 13th about 700 of them marched with unparalleled boldness and audacity to attack the city of Ghent, which contained in its town and citadel a garrison of 8000 or 4000 troops. This body marched up to the Bruges gate, which, after some conflict, they forced. A battle ensued in the streets, which continued for some hours, until at length the patriots drove the Austrian troops into their barracks and into the citadel. Thus separated, the barracks were regularly besieged from the Friday to the following Monday, when Colonel Lunden, who commanded, hung out a white flag, and 500 soldiers gave up their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. During the whole of this attack upon the barracks no attempt was made from the citadel to relieve the besieged, but it was wholly occupied in bombarding the town with a view of setting it on fire: of course this created great destruction of property, although it did not arrive at a general conflagration, and the inhabitants were kept in a fearful state of terror and confusion. But the garrison of the citadel, who did not dare to venture forth to the relief of their distressed comrades in the barracks, made frequent sallies by night into the streets, where every kind of enormity and the most horrid crimes were perpetrated on the poor inhabitants without mercy. The patriots obliged Colonel Lunden to write an order to the commandant to surrender immediately, which of course he refused to obey; but in a few days he availed himself of the dead of the night to evacuate the citadel, and marched away bag and baggage, leaving the fortress, guns, and ammunition to the patriots.

These rapid and brilliant successes of the patriots were so astounding to General d'Alton, that, depressed and distressed, he shut himself up in Brussels with 5000 or 6000 men. The example of other towns was not likely to be lost upon the capital city. On the 9th of December, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a select number of the bravest citizens attacked and seized the soldiers who guarded the Mint and other detached buildings, succeeding in their enterprise without difficulty. General d'Alton then proposed an armistice, which endured for several hours, during the rest of the day and the night, in the course of which time a reinforcement of 800 men with two pieces of cannon arrived to the Austrians. D'Alton, therefore, on



the termination of the armistice, began an attack by sending a strong detachment to release the officers and soldiers who had at the first been made prisoners. The citizens were soon roused, and furiously attacked this detachment, who were routed, and driven into the market-place. Here the conflict was renewed on a more considerable scale, until the patriots made themselves masters of the *corps de garde*, and took 400 Austrians prisoners, with two pieces of cannon. They then seized the barracks and magazines, in which they found 2000 stand of muskets, besides a quantity of ammunition ready for use. General d'Alton withdrew his troops into the park and Royal Square, where he posted himself, having still twelve pieces of cannon with him. Here they were furiously attacked by the population on every side about noon. The courage and fury of the patriots had now become so irresistible that nothing could withstand their attack, and D'Alton, with all his known military skill and long-tried valour, was compelled to endure the mortification of asking for terms, and within an hour marched away, with all the troops he had left, through the gate leading to Namur, leaving nearly 3000 prisoners behind him in the hands of the people. D'Alton and Trautmansdorff, with the remainder of their baffled and disgraced troops, then quitted the country altogether, retiring to Liège and Luxemburg; and on the last day of the year the States of Brabant agreed with those of Flanders to form an indissoluble union.

On the 20th of November a manifesto was issued declaring the Flemish States independent, and now the Brabantese did the same. Within a few weeks, on the 4th of January, they solemnly declared the Emperor to have forfeited all title to the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and all the Austrian dominions in the Low Countries, except Limburg, threw off the yoke. Liège also had caught the infection, and the ferment even extended to Cologne.

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## 1790.

1. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.—2. THE CAMPAIGN ON THE DANUBE OPENS BY THE BLOCKADE AND CAPTURE OF NEW ORSOVA.—3. THE TURKS DEFEAT GENERAL THURN NEAR GIURGEVO—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND TURKEY AT REICHENBACH.—4. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL LONDON.—5. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN—THE RUSSIANS REPULSED AT KARNANKOSKI.—6. THE KING OF SWEDEN TAKES VALKIALA AND ADVANCES TO BORGÓ.—7. THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA WITH THE SWEDISH FLEET ATTACKS REVEL AND IS REPULSED.—8. THE KING OF SWEDEN WITH HIS FLEET OF GALLEYS ATTACKS FREDERICKSHAM WITH SUCCESS.—9. GREAT NAVAL ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND SWEDES.—10. THE KING OF SWEDEN GAINS A GREAT NAVAL VICTORY OVER THE PRINCE

OF NASSAU.—11. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.—12. SUWARROW TAKES ISMAIL BY STORM.—13. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE POTEKIN.—14. WAR IN INDIA.—15. GENERAL MEADOWS PREPARES TO ENTER MYSORE.—16. TIPPOO DESCENDS THE GHATS AND ATTACKS MEADOWS.—17. GENERAL ABERCROMBIE, THE NIZAM, AND THE MAHRATTAS ADVANCE UPON MYSORE.

### 1. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.

On the 7th of February the Emperor Joseph was informed by his physicians that his disease admitted of no cure, and on the 20th he expired. He called his friends around him, and said to the Prince de Ligne, who was a native of the Netherlands, "Your country has killed me: Ghent, taken by the insurgents, has been my agony; Brussels, abandoned by my troops, my death." To Marshal Lacy he said, "The only thing I regret on leaving this world are my few friends, of whom you are certainly the first." He took leave of Marshal Loudon also in the most affectionate terms a few hours before his death, and, pressing his hand with all its remaining fervour, told him that he trusted in him for the defence and preservation of his dominions. When his successor, Leopold, assumed the sovereignty, his first care was to free himself from the Turkish war, for he saw the difficulties in which he was on all sides involved.

### 2. THE CAMPAIGN ON THE DANUBE OPENS BY THE BLOCKADE AND CAPTURE OF NEW ORSOVA.

The campaign on the Danube had already opened unusually early by resuming the siege of New Orsova, which had been commenced before the conclusion of the last year's campaign. The Austrian army had, indeed, closely blockaded the place during the whole winter, under the command of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. But on the 16th of April a slight shock of an earthquake happened to take place, and the garrison, believing that the movement of the earth below them proceeded from the undermining of the fortress, and that they were on the point of being blown up, were seized with a panic, so that they instantly abandoned the place, with a prodigious artillery, and a large supply of stores and ammunition.

### 3. THE TURKS DEFEAT GENERAL THURN NEAR GIURGEVO—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND TURKEY AT REICHENBACH.

The next object of the campaign was the double siege of Widdin and Giurgevo, but while some advantages had been obtained in a conflict near the former place, and considerable advance made in the siege of the latter, the pacific dispositions of the Emperor had already become known, and the Prince of Coburg, solicitous to get possession of Giurgevo before an armistice could be ordered, at once despatched General Thurn to stop the march of a body of Turkish troops who were advancing to its relief. Thurn, confident of success after the late experience he had had of the Ottoman levies, did not wait for the attack of the enemy, but marched forward to encounter

them, and met a reception he little expected. Excited to madness by a sense of their late disgraces, the Turks, as soon as they were attacked, fought with indescribable fury, and after a desperate conflict drove back the Austrians to their lines, which they forced, and carried all before them. The gallant General Thurn exerted himself to do all that knowledge or courage could dictate, but in the conflict his head was carried off by the blow of a janizary's sabre, and afterwards exhibited with triumph through the ranks of the Turkish army. The Austrians left 700 dead on the field, and 2000 wounded. The Prince of Coburg abandoned his trenches and works, together with eighteen pieces of battering artillery, and Giurgevo was preserved to the Grand Seignior. This was the last action in the war between the Austrians and Ottomans, for on the 27th of July a convention was concluded at Reichenbach in Silesia, upon the basis of the *status quo*, and the renunciation of the alliance with Russia.

#### 4. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL LOUDON

A few days previous to this the venerable Marshal Loudon expired at his head-quarters in Moravia, in his 75th year. He was undoubtedly at the time of his death the first general in Europe, and he was exceedingly lamented, as well for his private virtues as for his military talents and great public services. He closed a long life, covered with laurels and glory, in the midst of his soldiers and comrades. He was born in Livonia, of a family of Scotch origin, and entered the Russian army as a cadet, making his first *essai d'armes* under the celebrated Marshal Munnich. Disgusted with the Russian service he wished to enter that of Prussia, but the King would have nothing to do with him, saying, "La figure de ce jeune homme ne me revient point." He then entered the Austrian service as a Captain of Pandours. He was wounded at Saverne in 1744, the only time during his long period of active service that he was touched. He was afterwards given the command of a regiment of Croats, in which he commenced the Seven Years' War in the army of Bohemia, and soon obtained the reputation of being one of the most effective partisans of the Imperialists. His successes against the enemy in 1757 obtained for him successively the ranks of Colonel and Major-General; and his behaviour at Dornstadt, which constrained the King of Prussia to raise the siege of Olmutz, gained him the rank of Lieutenant-General. In this capacity, at the head of the advanced guard, he was mainly instrumental in the achievement of Marshal Daun's victory at Hochkirk, in 1758: at the end of this campaign he received from the Empress Queen the cross of Maria Theresa, and the patent of a Baron of the Empire. The following year he commanded in chief a corps d'armée, and gained against the King in person the victory of Kunersdorf. In 1760 he was victorious at Landshut, but succumbed to the better fortune of Frederick at Liegnitz. In 1761 he commanded the army of Silesia, 60,000 strong, and after many distinguished encounters got possession of the fortress of Schweidnitz, which obtained for him the greatest consideration.

Marshal Loudon was naturally of a grave, melancholy, and even

misanthropic character, speaking seldom, but always to the purpose, and never of himself or of his own deeds—indeed not often on any military subject; but though in general he was sombre and cold, he could be roused and carried away by contradiction. The great Frederick said of him, that while he could play with the movements of other generals he always dreaded a battle with London. It is related that being in attendance on the Emperor Joseph II. at his interview with the King, his Prussian Majesty, who showed him the greatest attentions, saw him take his place at the table below his deserts. "Come up here," said Frederick to him; "I would always rather have you on my side than opposed to me." At the opening of the Bavarian Succession War, Loudon was gratified with the rank of Field-Marshal of the Empire, and given the command of the army of Silesia, but the peace of Teschen soon restored him to the quiet enjoyment of the estate which Maria Theresa had given him in Bohemia. The Turkish war in 1788 again called him into service. The siege of Belgrade in 1789 was, as has been related, under the conduct of this celebrated commander. He ordered the first parallel to be opened at the distance of fifty toises from the glacis, disdaining the doctrine of the schools which prescribed 300. He said to the generals around him, "My friends, we must not flinch from this near approach: let us all prepare for victory or death, and consider that none of us were born but to die." With this view he himself ordered the following epitaph, which is still over his grave at Hadersdorf, "*Commemoratio mortis optima philosophia.*"

#### 5. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN—THE RUSSIANS REPULSED AT KARNANKOSKI.

The Empress Catharine, though deprived of her Austrian ally, refused to take part in the pacific negotiations at Reichenbach, and carried on the war against the Turks on the one side, and the Swedes on the other. Gustavus, whose ever-active mind seemed never to need repose, used every possible exertion to retrieve the fortune of the war by the most effective preparations for the ensuing campaign. Pursuing his plan of humiliating the nobles of his kingdom, and ingratiating himself with the other classes, the noble officers of his army mutinied against him. They even refused to serve under his own gallant brother in the fleet, for, from some cause or other, they had listened to evil counsels, and turned against their sovereign in the hour of his need. He therefore turned to the commons to assist him, and issued a declaration that all orders of the state had an equal right to serve their country in any situations for which they were qualified, and he at the same time drew the clergy to his side by admitting them to a share in public affairs. This policy answered his purpose. The States granted the King subsidies, and imposed heavy taxes, from which the nobility were no longer exempt. The supplies thus granted were every thing at such a juncture; they were considered greater than could have been expected, and far exceeded the grants of preceding diets. Calling, therefore, his men of iron

into the field in the midst of snow and ice, Gustavus sent the Prince of Anhalt with 3000 men to penetrate to St. Petersburg, and the Prince in fact advanced to within two days' march of that capital, and possessed himself of some fortifications at Karnanvaski, on the Saima Lake. This inroad, made so near the capital of Peter the Great, created some alarm, and much greater indignation at the audacity of the insult. To repel it a body of 10,000 of the best and oldest of the Russian troops, including a detachment of guards and a powerful artillery, were despatched under General Ingelstroom, who, about the middle of April, attacked the Swedes in their fortified post in three close and heavy columns. Advancing with all their native fearlessness, and with all the pride and confidence of success which long habits of victory had now rendered habitual in the Russian army, the shock was dreadful; but the assailants were received with a firmness and intrepidity that astonished them. The fury and violence of the assault were completely baffled. Indignation and shame at being foiled by so inferior a force, national pride, animosity, and rivalry, prompted the Russians to renew the action with all the rage and fury that men in such a condition are capable of; the cool and determined courage, however, with which they were again repelled, was never exceeded. A third attack followed, in which the brave commander, the Prince of Anhalt, fell; nevertheless, after about two hours of the most desperate, obstinate, and bloody fighting, the Russians were as totally defeated as before: they then retired from the field, utterly foiled in their object, but in good order, and the victors were not able to profit by a pursuit. The Russians left about 2000 dead on the field.

#### 6. THE KING OF SWEDEN TAKES VALKIALA AND ADVANCES TO BORGO.

About the same time, on the 28th of April, the King in person crossed the Kymene, and entered Russian Finland. He found a body of Russian troops encamped round the strong fort of Valkiala, and well intrenched. To hazard an attack was rather desperate; the King, however, advanced with his usual confidence, and was received with no less resolution. The action was very severe, and lasted for several hours, but at length the King with his Swedes, surmounting every obstacle, carried the intrenchments, and also the fort, by storm. This acquisition was highly important, both from its situation and the large magazines which were found in the place. The King next took Wilmanstrad and other places, and fixed his head-quarters at Borgo.

#### 7. THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA WITH THE SWEDISH FLEET ATTACKS REVEL AND IS REPULSED.

This early opening of the campaign had given considerable advantage to the King, as the enemy were not in readiness to meet him. Their grand fleet was still in its winter stations at Cronstadt and Revel, divided nearly equally in the two ports. The Duke of Sudermania, having sailed from Carlscrona at the same time that the King marched, was at this moment sole master of the sea. He again, therefore, determined, if possible, to prevent the junction of the enemy's

fleets; and bolder still, resolved upon making an attempt to destroy them at their anchorage. Accordingly, on the 18th of May he made a dash into the harbour of Revel, regardless of the strong batteries by which it was defended, or the heavy metal of the ships that reposed under their protection. Notwithstanding all these formidable dangers, the attack of the Swedes was truly tremendous, and they penetrated into the very heart of the harbour, and maintained for several hours a most desperate contest in the centre of the enemy's fire and strength. A sudden shifting of the wind and a violent storm are said to have marred the fortune of this attack, and they were obliged to abandon it with the utmost precipitation, the difficulty of getting out of the harbour being attended with most imminent danger, as well as with considerable loss. The Swedes lost a 60-gun ship, which, having been dismasted, was taken possession of by the Russians, and another was wrecked, but the crew were saved, and the ship burned. A third likewise ran on shore, but was saved with the loss of its guns. The enterprise was in truth a most rash one, and not to be justified upon any principle of naval tactics.

#### 8. THE KING OF SWEDEN WITH HIS FLEET OF GALLEYS ATTACKS FREDERICKSHAM WITH SUCCESS.

The King, as soon as he reached Borgo, had been joined by his fleet of galleys, and he now determined to take the command of it himself, as a wound he had received at Valkiala incapacitated him at present for the command of his army. He accordingly raised his standard on board the "Amphion," and immediately set sail to seek the enemy's fleet of galleys, which was stationed at Fredericksham. On the second day after the unsuccessful attack at Revel, he suddenly sailed into the harbour, stormed and forced the defences, took thirty-eight vessels, sunk ten gunboats, and burned forty more, and thirty transports. He also destroyed the docks, and burned all the store of timber and stores which had been accumulated for the building and equipping of their fleets. The Duke of Sudermania then made some descents on the coast to favour the operations of the land army, and the King, it would appear, made another attack, towards the end of June, upon the Muscovite division of ships and gunboats that were anchored in the Bay of Viborg.

#### 9. GREAT NAVAL ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND SWEDES.

The Russians having now had time to recover from their surprise, and collect their forces, soon turned the tide of success against the Swedes both by sea and land. The strong posts which the latter had gained in the Viborg and Carelia were soon recovered, and the Swedes were obliged to recross the Kymene and quit Russian Finland. At this time, however, the Duke of Sudermania had fallen in with the enemy's fleet from Cronstadt, under the command of Vice-Admiral Kruse, and on the 3rd of June an engagement took place which lasted for several hours, and ended without any absolute success on either side, when the Swedish fleet, either through prudence or from

necessity retired to the neighbouring post of Seaker. The Russian Admiral Souchotin lost a leg in this encounter, and two of his ships of war were dismasted and obliged to leave the line. The Swedes, having refitted their ships and mended their rigging, came out of harbour next morning and renewed the engagement, and though nothing decisive took place, the Russian commanders bore away and made (what seamen call) a long-shot engagement of it, the most destructive of any to the rigging. In the very height of the conflict, however, two Swedish frigates appeared under a heavy press of sail, followed by the whole Revel squadron, consisting of thirteen fresh ships of the line. No situation could be more perilous. The Swedish fleet appeared to be enclosed in toils from which nothing could extricate it. The Admiral Tchitschagow, who commanded, immediately despatched the welcome news to St. Petersburg, that the Duke of Sudermania might be expected there as a captive with all the officers of his fleet. But fortune generally favours the brave. The Duke availed himself of some change of wind to execute a judicious manœuvre, by which he was enabled to extricate himself from the danger that menaced him, and to gain on that very evening a secure station in the island of Bjorno, where he was joined by his brother the King with his flotilla of galleys and gunboats. The King, ever emulating and rivalling the most renowned of his predecessors in military glory, now determined with his united force to make an attack on Viborg, a project full of danger, and with every probability of success against him. With this design in view, therefore, he made a descent on the shores of Carelia, which he led in person, and was successful in routing and dispersing with his usual vigour such small bodies of Russian troops as could in the first emergency be collected to oppose him. In the mean time the obvious event, which the King should have anticipated as he had cause to dread it, took place. The grand fleet under Admiral Tchitschagow, and the fleet of galleys under the Prince of Nassau, came to the assistance of their countrymen on shore, and appeared suddenly before the narrow passage which leads into the Bay of Viborg. Here the Swedish fleet had already arrived in the Bay, and as there was no other communication with the sea but through the inlet in which the Russians had now placed four of their best ships, armed with their heaviest metal, the King might be literally said to be caught in a trap.

A desperate conflict followed, which took place on the 3rd of July. The van of the Swedish fleet, commanded by Admiral Modéc, had the good fortune to pass the strait without receiving any very essential damage, and fired its broadsides on either hand with great spirit and effect upon the stationed ships as they passed. The cannonade from the four ships was, however, so powerful, that it struck with awe those who were next to follow, and the Duke of Sudermania adopted a plan, the best that could be conceived under some circumstances—to send some fire-ships amongst the enemy and remove the obstacle entirely by burning the four stationed ships; but those who conducted the fire-ships, either from want of skill or through unavoidable accident, so bungled the matter, that they fell aboard a

Swedish line of battle ship and a frigate, both of which were blown up. This dreadful misfortune was enough to strike dismay into the most undaunted hearts. Disorder and confusion ensued: every thing was now done in a hurry, and accordingly was ill done. Four ships of the line in their attempt to pass the strait struck upon the rocks, and were abandoned to the enemy. The engagement continued in a manner during the whole night and part of the succeeding day. The rest of the fleet got through the strait, but were closely pursued by the enemy along the coast, and in this way two more of the Swedish ships were lost; but the Duke of Sudermania with the remainder of his ruined fleet had the good fortune to escape to Sweaborg, where he arrived on the evening of the 4th. The galley fleet under the King was in the most imminent danger, and did not escape without paying the penalty due to rashness. Six of his galleys were captured, having 800 of his guard on board, and sixty smaller vessels were either taken or destroyed; ninety officers were amongst the killed, wounded, and missing, and four of his oldest and best regiments were destroyed. Altogether it was computed that the Swedes lost more than 7000 men in both engagements, while the loss on the side of the Russians was inconsiderable, except in the four stationed ships, which were nearly reduced to the condition of absolute wrecks. The King with the remainder of his galley fleet escaped to Swenk Sound, and here he found the Pomeranian division of his light fleet under the command of M. de Cronstadt, who by his late arrival had not been involved in the recent disasters.

#### 10. THE KING OF SWEDEN GAINS A GREAT NAVAL VICTORY OVER THE PRINCE OF NASSAU.—PEACE OF WARELA.

Neither quelled by his adverse fortune, nor dismayed by the dismal prospect before him, this magnanimous successor of Charles XII. immediately adopted the design of retrieving, by some bold stroke, the aspect of his affairs. He learned that the Prince of Nassau would be on his way to Fredericksham with the Cronstadt and Viborg divisions of the fleet, and he determined to try and intercept him. The King did not lose an instant in provisioning his squadron and putting the vessels in the best condition possible in so short a time; and on the 8th of July the hostile fleet appeared in sight, the King being between them and the shore. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 9th the Prince of Nassau advanced upon the King's fleet, which was already drawn up in order of battle; the main body commanded by Colonel Stedinck, the right wing by Colonel Torningi, and the left by Colonel Hielmstierna, all of them land officers. The King was on board the "Seraphim" galley, and gave the signal for a general engagement, he himself going into the heat of it as was his wont. The two wings were first engaged, the enemy coming down with great firmness upon them, and pouring in a heavy fire of cannon and small arms as they approached; but the Russians were most bravely received, and the attack continued with such firmness that, about noon, their left wing began to recoil. At this time reinforcements arrived to both sides, and the fight was



renewed throughout the whole line with undiminished fury, but about four, some of the Russian galleys were seen to strike their colours, and some had foundered: several had been taken, and the larger ones were now seen to quit their line. The firing on both sides, however, continued till ten o'clock in the evening, when all got pretty generally under weigh, and began to disperse. The darkness of the night put an end to the Swedish fire about eleven, but as soon as day broke some of the enemy's galleys were seen stranded on shoals, having struck their colours. At three in the morning the victors renewed the action, and a Russian frigate and some small craft were taken. The vanquished then retreated on all sides, burning and destroying their stranded ships, and were pursued without intermission till ten that night. The Swedes captured forty-five of their vessels, with considerable artillery and a number of trophies. Many English officers were present in this action, on board Russian and Swedish ships. Foremost in the number of the latter, and always foremost in the fight, was the late Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, then a young man, romantic, brave, and daring to excess. Before the close of the action, before even the smoke of the guns had cleared away, Gustavus gave Captain Sydney Smith the grand cross of the Swedish Order of the Sword, of which he was always especially proud, notwithstanding the heap of ribbons and decorations he had in after life to carry<sup>1</sup>. The number of vessels sunk and burned could never be exactly ascertained, but the wrecks that strewed the coast were prodigious. The loss of the Russians must have been very great, and the prisoners amounted to 4500 men, of whom 210 were officers. The Swedes lost but a few vessels, and their loss of men was moderate, considering the length and firmness of these mixed and resolute combats.

The Russians were without any question defeated; but glorious and splendid as his victory was, the King was not much in a situation to better his condition: he had scarcely an army left, and his navy was totally ruined. These mutual losses and the exhausted state of Sweden produced overtures for a truce on the condition of a mutual restitution of conquests on both sides, and on the 14th of August a definitive treaty of peace was signed on the plains of Wafsa between Sweden and Russia.

#### 11. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

For some time the Russian army on the Danube remained very inactive, but more from political causes than from any relaxation of hostility towards the Turks. The Czarina was still as much as ever bent upon further aggrandizement at the expense of the

<sup>1</sup> He was ever after called Sir Sydney; but though the services of this distinguished man have rendered his name immortal, his own country, sometimes lavish and sometimes churlish of its few honourable distinctions, could not find a decoration for the first Englishman who had foiled Bonaparte, until the Prince Regent increased the Order of the Bath, and made him—Knight Commander!

Ottomans; but she was at this time in a bad state of health, and all kind of business languished accordingly. The delay proved, however, of the utmost advantage to the Russians, for the Asiatic troops, who form the bulk of the Ottoman armies, had, according to their constant custom, repassed the Hellespont at the close of the fine season, and returned to their native countries, so that the European Turks were left during the winter singly to contend with the whole force of the Russians. Nevertheless the war did not wholly languish. A Russian piratical squadron had been doing infinite mischief in the islands of the Archipelago, and in the early part of the year one Major Lambro seized Zia, hired some Albanese soldiers, and erected fortifications to secure the possession of the island. On the 18th of May seven Algerine corsairs boldly undertook the rescue of the Archipelago from this occupation, and from the enormities committed by these Russian adventurers. Joined by some Turkish vessels they attacked the enemy's squadron with such effect, that after sinking two of the ships and forcing the rest to run on shore, they made a great slaughter, and Major Lambro was himself wounded and only escaped in a boat, so that the islands were regained and the Turkish territory freed from further depredations. The Black Sea was also a principal scene of contest between the Turks and Russians, and some naval actions of no great amount took place, in which the success chiefly remained with the latter.

## 12. SUWARROW TAKES ISMAIL BY STORM.

An attempt was made at this time by the Turks to penetrate into the Russian conquests between the Euxine and the Caucasus. Butah Pacha advanced with an army of 40,000 men from Anapa, and passed the river Kuban on the 10th of October, where he was immediately encountered by a Russian army under General Hermann. The superiority of numbers was with the Turks, but they were completely and totally routed, and their general and principal officers taken prisoners, with thirty pieces of artillery and all their equipage.

Prince Potemkin at the close of the preceding year had taken Kilia Nova, a fortress on one of the mouths of the Danube, and now projected further conquests in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It was late in October when Suwarrow received reinforcements and supplies, with this brief and peremptory letter from Potemkin: "You will take Ismail, cost what it may." This strong fortress was the key of the Lower Danube, and on account of its importance a garrison of 13,000 men, the flower of the Turkish troops, was posted there to defend it. The works had lately been much improved and strengthened in a most masterly manner, under the able direction of a Spanish engineer officer. It was the only fortress of any value that remained to the Turks in those parts, and there was nothing between it and Constantinople but the intrenched camp at Shumla, and the difficult passes of the Balkan mountains. A fleet of galleys under Admiral Ribas invested Ismail by water, and Suwarrow completely surrounded the fortress by land, after which he summoned the Turkish governor, who

returned a haughty defiance. It was already the month of December, not the time for making a regular siege, during the fogs and rigour of that most inclement region; but it was not suited to the genius of this rudest and roughest soldier of fortune to undertake any slow and regular process of military science. He therefore surrounded the place with batteries constructed on every spot of ground which could answer his purpose, and armed them with the heaviest battering cannon and mortars, as well as with every kind of machine that could carry any form of hostile projectile, while forges for heating balls were constructed everywhere, to pour destruction into the devoted place. The dreadful roar of a most stupendous bombardment awoke the garrison at five o'clock in the morning of the 25th of December. At seven, such showers of red-hot shot, bombs, and carcasses had been already thrown, that, thinking the enemy to be cowed, the Russian commander determined to try the effect of an assault by brute force. Twenty-three thousand men, divided into eight columns, one of which was led by Suwarrow in person, and each column appropriated to its particular point of attack, advanced against the fortress, while the Russian galleys, mounting 567 guns, played upon it from the river. A most desperate conflict ensued for three hours. Ismail looked like a volcano in action; it was a most dreadful battle. At length the assailants were repulsed; the galleys rowed away with a terrible loss in men and officers; the Turks sallied out upon the retiring columns to swell the bloody rout with the sword and yataghan. Suwarrow was seen exhibiting the most extraordinary valour in his own person, to reanimate his troops and recall them to the fight. To allow his men time to recover their spirits, or perhaps to bring up fresh troops, he determined to distract the attention of the Mussulmans by a fresh bombardment from all the batteries on land and from the galleys by water. The assault was then renewed, but the Russians were again and again driven back. At last one earth battery was carried, Suwarrow being the first to apply the scaling ladder, and, with a standard in his hand, he mounted, and planted it on the work. It is reported of him that when he was leading or driving his people to the assault, he cried out, "Brothers, no quarter to-day, for our bread is scarce" The first line of works was at length carried, but the contest was still dreadful, for the Turks strained every nerve to recover what they had lost, and totally dismissed from their minds the preservation of life. Fresh reinforcements had arrived to the Russians, whilst the Ottomans were wearied and worn down by this long and continual conflict, and these were now at last beaten back to the defence of the second parapet; this they defended as desperately as they had done the first, and they then showed as bold a front behind the third parapet as they had done at the first or second. At length, an hour after sunset, the third line was carried, and a torrent of savage and irritated Muscovites, led on by Suwarrow, as at the first, burst into the very heart of the city, and began a carnage that lasted through the night, accompanied by horrors of which humanity could scarcely endure the recital. Many Turkish

incapable of witnessing them, and to shorten their own misery, rushed desperately upon the bayonets of their enemies. The rising sun in Ismail exhibited such a scene as had never before shocked the eyes of the beholders. About 30,816 Turks of all ages are said to have perished in the storm and subsequent massacre. The gallant old Seraskier Pacha, who had held the chief command, was found pierced with sixteen bayonet-thrusts. Six or seven Tartar princes of the ancient family of Gherai also perished. The Russians are believed to have lost 13,000 men in the assault, including an amazing number of officers, some of them of the highest rank; the Prince de Ligne was wounded, and the Duke de Richelieu had a narrow escape—both of these had been volunteers. Suwarrow's despatch on this occasion was in his usual laconic style, and addressed to the Empress: "Mother, Ismail is at your feet." The bloody trophies taken at Ismail were displayed in an ostentatious and grand triumph at St. Petersburg, and the Czarina said sarcastically to Sir Charles Whitworth, the British Ambassador, on the occasion, "Since the King your master is determined to drive me out of St. Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople." Nothing now appeared to be in the way of that long-coveted object. The Grand Vizier with his dispirited army retired into the defiles of the Balkan, and Russian detachments under Prince Galitzin, Prince Repuin, and other generals, crossed the Danube, and drove every Turk that dared to show himself out of Bulgaria.

### 13. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE POTEMKIN.

Prince Potemkin was born of a reduced noble family of Russia in 1736, and entered the army at the age of eighteen as a cornet in the Imperial guard. He was already a man of influence in the revolution of 1762, which placed Catharine on the throne. He served in the several Turkish wars under Romanzow and Count Panin, until he became elevated to the highest favour of the Czarina in 1770. He was the great instigator of the war against the Porte in 1771-2, in which the Crimea and Kuban were torn from the Ottoman Empire, and by which Russia acquired a footing on the shores of the Euxine. In 1778 he founded Cherson on the banks of the Dnieper, and formed the countries he had wrested from the Porte into a new province, which received the name of Taurida, while he received the name of Taurisschy. The Empress also built a palace for her favourite, which she styled the Taurian palace. Potemkin was again commander-in-chief of the Russian armies in 1787. In 1788 he obtained possession of Oczakow, and here in 1790 of Ismail, whilst he occupied with the Russian armies all the fine provinces of Turkey north of the Balkan. He was in his day the most mighty subject of any sovereign: Field-Marshal, Commander-in-Chief, Colonel of the Guards; President of the College of War, Grand Admiral, Grand Hetman, dignified with all the Russian and many of the highest orders of Europe, and a Prince of the German Empire. His revenues corresponded to his dignities: with large estates and nine millions of roubles in money, he was lord of 40,000 serfs,

with an allowance of 75,000 roubles for his person and 30,000 for his table. After the present campaign he never again took the field, but died in the midst of the negotiations for the peace of Jassy, on the 15th of October, 1791.

Potemkin was clumsy in person, but of Herculean size and strength. A defect in his eyes rendered his countenance lowering and forbidding. He was awkward and even embarrassed in his address. Although by nature and habit extremely indolent, when roused to exertion his activity was as remarkable as his customary supineness. Singularly voracious in his appetite, and even coarse and gluttonous, he could in a moment of necessity quit his ease and habits of luxury, and travel like a courier day and night in a common carriage of the country, adopting the coarse food of the Russian peasants. This singular man was fond of wild and expensive schemes, and was continually duped by the host of projectors who surrounded him. With only a superficial knowledge of books, but a quick comprehension and a surprising memory, he had a peculiar talent of deriving information from persons of distinction in every profession. He was a great patron of learning, and very desirous of promoting the commerce, manufactures, and civilization of his country. His military talents never found a nobler field than in the campaigns with the Turks, against whom he was continually and uniformly successful.

#### 14. WAR IN INDIA.

In Mr. Pitt's celebrated India Bill (24th Geo. III. c. 25) it is recited, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation." Lord Cornwallis was sent out in 1786 to succeed Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India, to carry into effect a policy which in the sequel, except for the known straightforward character of Great Britain, might be supposed to have been put forward to deceive and mislead the world. The Dutch for 150 years had been in possession of two forts, Cranganore and Ayacottah, in a Travancore principality, which is situated on the extreme south-west of the peninsula of Hindostan, extending from Cape Comorin to a chain of mountains which separated it from the Company's settlements of Tinnevely, and runs up northwards to the vicinity of the boundary of the kingdom of Mysore. This province had been much coveted by Hyder, who got possession of it in 1780, but was obliged to give it back to the Dutch. Tippoo again laid claim to the forts, and having resolved now to support his claim by the sword, he had marched a formidable army in the previous June with the avowed intention of recovering them. Alarmed at these preparations, the Dutch immediately proposed to sell both the forts to the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the British government. By this unhappy manœuvre, which interposed the agie of British protection between him and his prey, Tippoo was foiled; nevertheless, although clearly given to understand that an attack upon the Rajah of Travancore would be viewed as a declaration of war against the English, he resolved to adventure it, and in

the 29th of December, 1789, he commenced a sudden attack upon these forts on the boundary of Travancore. This failed through one of those sudden panics to which half-disciplined armies are at all times liable. The Sultan was himself thrown down in the struggle, and the bearers of his palanquin were trampled to death, from which fate Tippoo was only saved by the vigorous exertions of some resolute and faithful followers. It was impossible for the Bengal government to behold a proceeding of this kind with indifference. It had in vain interposed to restrain hostilities, and as it had now formed a close alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam it was free for action. Tippoo would never have ventured upon the course he had commenced but for the temporizing character of Mr. Holland, the civil governor of Madras. He persisted in writing to Lord Cornwallis that "it is not Tippoo's intention to break with the Company," and with the weakness which in such transactions often influences civilians, no security was taken for the possible error of such a supposition. It is recorded by Sir Thomas Munro that "we have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune;" "we shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines;" "we have acted as if we had been to enjoy a perpetual peace." Happily at this time General Meadows succeeded the incompetent Mr. Holland as Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Madras: he brought with him 15,000 men, and the utmost exertions had been made to expedite the equipment of the troops and prepare them for active operations, but he first opened a direct communication with Tippoo. The Sultan at first disavowed all participation in the late attack on the forts; but finding from the tone of General Meadows that this was discredited, and becoming aware from the active preparations of the British that they were ready for war, he changed his tone, knowing that he was himself more forward than his adversary, and began to assume a more insolent carriage. He also procured as soon as possible from Mysore an additional supply of troops and battering guns, and again attacked the lines, which he carried by assault on the 7th of May. He then turned his attention to the forts of Ayacottah and Cranganore, which he besieged with vigour, and soon carried: after which he captured and ravaged all the strong places in the north portion of the province of Travancore, and in his caprice and savage rage destroyed even Mysore, the ancient capital of his own kingdom.

#### 15. GENERAL MEADOWS PREPARES TO ENTER MYSORE.

Without waiting for the junction of the Mahrattas and the Nizam's contingent, Lord Cornwallis had early arranged with General Meadows a plan of campaign. A force was despatched from Bombay consisting of the 75th King's regiment and two battalions of sepoy under Colonel Hartley: these had arrived at Tanore on the 23rd of April, and took up a strong position on the island of Vapeen. The General, dividing his troops into six brigades, assembled them on the plains of Trichinopoly, whence they spread towards Coim-

batore, in order to threaten the pass of Gujelbutty, that leads into the heart of Mysore. On the 24th of May the General was at length enabled to take the command of his army, but he had first to possess himself of Caroor, the nearest frontier town of his enemy, before moving forward. In the mean time General Abercrombie with the army of Bombay made ready to reduce Tippoo's territory on the Malabar coast, and thence was to unite himself, if possible, with Meadows; while Colonel Kelly, at the head of a smaller force, was directed to observe all the passes by which the Mysoreans could most readily descend into the Carnatic. Alarmed at the actual appearance of the British army near the frontiers of his most valuable possessions, the Sultan retired from Travancore in haste, and returned to Seringapatam, his capital. General Meadows commenced his march on the 26th, but such was the defective state of the commissariat and field-transport departments, that most of the tumbrils broke down ere twenty miles of country were traversed, and a halt became necessary. At length, on the 15th of June, he marched away from the plains of Trichinopoly, and, entering the enemy's country, advanced to Caroor, which was abandoned at his approach; and on the 2nd of July, after having strengthened the works and established a magazine in it, he marched on towards Aravacourchy. On being summoned to surrender, the killidar of this place requested permission, in order to save his credit with the Sultan, to make a few discharges, which he kindly promised should do no damage; but his request was refused, and the General took possession of the place without resistance, real or pretended. On the 10th he arrived at Darapooram, another weak place, which he found evacuated. Here Meadows established an hospital and depôt, and left a brigade behind for its protection; and he then pressed on to Coimbatore, where he arrived on the 21st of July. The only opposition which the British had hitherto encountered arose from different bodies of looties, an irregular horse. Intelligence had been received that Sahid Sahib, one of Tippoo's ablest generals, was approaching Coimbatore with 3000 horse, and that the Sultan himself had passed the Bahvâny, and was occupying the steep defiles in the direction of Seringapatam. A corps of cavalry under Colonel Floyd was immediately sent forward, which entered Coimbatore in time to prevent the rearguard of the Mysore cavalry detachment from setting it on fire; and Floyd, following up his first successes, penetrated to their encampment, and took some thirty or forty prisoners. From this place an advanced force under Colonel Stuart was detached to attack Paligant, but did not effect their object. They, however, got possession of Dindigul on the 21st of August; while Colonel Floyd by a happy stratagem seized upon Satimangalum, an important post on the left bank of the Bahvâny. Erouad also capitulated to Colonel Oldham after a trifling opposition; and Colonel Floyd then joining to himself Colonel Oldham's detachment, watched all the country south of the Bahvâny. The other dispositions were as follows: General Meadows lay at Coimbatore with one native and two European battalions; Colonel Stuart had sat down on the 9th before Paligant; the Bengal contingent under

Colonel Kelly, consisting of three European and two sepoy regiments, formed the centre army at Arnee; Colonel Hartley was still at Cochin; the Nizam's army was cantoned on the north side of the Kistnah and at Rachore, the Mahrattas slowly advancing from the same direction; and the General was laying in supplies and establishing depôts preparatory to his advance upon Mysore. During this time, or early in September, Tippoo was stealthily descending the Ghauts through the Gajelhutty pass.

#### 16. TIPPOO DESCENDS THE GHAUTS AND ATTACKS MEADOWS.

At this critical moment, before the preparations were completed, the Sultan's army suddenly appeared. On the 13th of September Floyd's outposts and patrols were driven in, and about 300 of his cavalry, who were sent to support them, found themselves in face of 6000 or 7000 Mysorean horse. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, however, they maintained a sharp conflict, until, borne down by the weight of numbers, they were compelled to take post among some enclosures till relieved by Floyd, who advanced to their aid with the remainder of his troops. The English now became in their turn the assailants: they charged the enemy with vigour and compelled them to retire. So soon as the field was completely clear, they drew off again to their encampment, but had scarcely dismounted when the enemy were seen advancing in great numbers along both banks of the river. Colonel Floyd instantly formed his line, and the Mysorean artillery opened upon them so as to gall the infantry a good deal, but it remained firm, and the British ranks did not waver under it. Floyd cheered them by his own appearance of confidence, and passing down the line, expressed to some of the native officers his regret at the loss they had suffered. "God forbid that we should mind a few casualties," they replied; "we have eaten the Company's salt, and our lives are at your disposal." At sunset the firing ceased; when Floyd, having consulted his brother officers, determined to retire as soon as he should be joined by the garrison of Satimangalum, which place it was resolved to abandon. Tippoo had also, as it afterwards appeared, withdrawn his army in the night to a position about six miles from the scene of action, and this movement having taken place amidst torrents of rain, the native force was, as usual under such circumstances, in great disorder. Some reprehensible delay took place in evacuating the fort, and it was, therefore, four o'clock in the morning of the 14th of September before the British troops were set in motion. A part of their artillery was necessarily left behind from want of bullocks; but the retreat commenced with the infantry altogether in one column, the cavalry in another, and the baggage in a third, until the nature of the country compelled a change, and the whole were formed into a single column, the cavalry leading. On hearing of the retreat of the British force, Tippoo ordered his troops to be put in motion for immediate pursuit, but from the circumstances above mentioned the order was obeyed with little promptness, and the day was already advanced when they got into movement. Floyd had, therefore, proceeded



about twelve miles before he perceived the Mysorean army in his rear, and a distant cannonade ensued, which had little effect. The cavalry, marching quickly, were three or four miles in advance, when, before they could get back to the succour of the infantry, this last was furiously attacked about four o'clock, and a severe action ensued. In the mean time the cavalry returned at a gallop, and were mistaken for the personal guard of General Meadows, and the report of his arrival even penetrated the British ranks, who cheered lustily at the circumstance. At the moment when this struck the ear of Tippoo, intelligence was brought him of the death of Burkar-oo-deen, one of his bravest officers, and he therefore drew off his army, and left Colonel Floyd at liberty to pursue his further march unmolested. He lost 156 Europeans and 280 natives killed and wounded in the encounter. When General Meadows was apprised of Tippoo's approach he got his army in march to join Colonel Floyd, but took it in a wrong direction, so that it was the 16th before the army was united, and they then moved upon Paligaut, in order to cover Colonel Stuart, who on the 24th had got possession of the place. Paligaut had been deemed a place of great strength, and a considerable force of artillery under Lieut.-Colonel Moorhouse had been sent to assist in the siege. On the 20th of September the batteries were opened at 400 yards, and before night a practicable breach was effected, so that the garrison surrendered on terms on the 22nd. On the 26th all the troops were united to the principal army under Meadows.

In the mean time the Sultan, having repossessed himself of Sati-mangalum, Erourad, and Darapooram, pushed rapidly on for Coimbatore. His movements were in general so secret and rapid that little was known of them in the British camp. From the great number of his elephants and bullocks he was enabled to advance with singular celerity; but fortunately on this occasion General Meadows was apprised of his intentions, and hastened to get before him to that most important magazine, upon which more than upon any other the whole army depended for provisions. On his arrival at Coimbatore he had the pleasure to find that Colonel Hartley of the Bombay army had defeated the Mysorean general left to watch him in Cochin, and had of his own accord moved to join Meadows, a most seasonable reinforcement at a very critical moment. Baffled in his attempt, Tippoo now doubled back, for his attention had been excited by the alarm of a British force moving to Bramáhal. This was the central army, under the command of Colonel Kelly, who was already at Bramáhal on the 24th of October at the head of 9500 men. On the 31st of October the Sultan crossed the Cavery, intending to move against it. Meadows was on the march to join a junction with Kelly, and was at no greater distance than ten miles from his adversary, but in profound ignorance of this manoeuvre. The British and the Mysorean armies, having the same object in view, were very naturally on the same track; and when the former discovered tents and flags before them, they conceived they were on the point of junction, and fired three guns as a

signal, but to their great surprise the tents and the flags disappeared, and the whole army moved off—it was that of Mysore. Meadows therefore immediately put himself in pursuit. Without any further opposition both the British armies joined on the 17th of November at Poolamputty, within a mile of Caverypatam. Perceiving himself now less able to cope with the united force than ever, Tippoo directed his course southwards, in order to threaten the British posts in that quarter; but he was overtaken by the van of the British at the pass of Tapoor, where the hostile forces accidentally met on the 26th, both intent on the same object. Only for the excessive caution of General Meadows a decisive action might now have been fought; but fortune favoured the Sultan, who rapidly marched away for Trichinopoly. Here the swollen state of the Cavery fortunately prevented him from effecting any thing before Meadows came up with him on the 14th of December. Disappointed in this quarter, he rapidly moved away to besiege Tiagur. That fortress, under Captain Flint, fortunately resisted all his efforts, for it was nine days after the enemy that Meadows arrived there. Trincomalee and Permacoil, however, opened their gates to Tippoo, after which he drew towards Pondicherry. In the midst of these marches and skirmishes, of little importance or result, Meadows received an order from Lord Cornwallis, who had arrived at Madras, to take upon himself the command, and the General in consequence defiled towards Arnee on the 27th of January, and the British army established itself at Vellout, eighteen miles from Madras.

#### 17. GENERAL ABERCROMBIE, THE NIZAM, AND THE MAHRATTAS ADVANCE UPON MYSORE.

General Abercrombie with the Bombay army did not enter the field till towards the close of the year, but he undertook the siege of Cannanore, which, after a weak resistance of three days, capitulated; and Colonel Hartley, now serving under him, commenced offensive operations by making himself master of Turnabedell; other forts followed; and in the space of a few weeks the whole of the Malabar coast, extending from Billapatam to Travancore, was completely in the hands of Abercrombie. Nor were the allies of the British altogether idle. The Nizam, emboldened by the result of Meadows's first operations, sat down before the strong hill-fort of Cuddol, while the Mahrattas employed themselves in the blockade of Darwar, a formidable post about sixty miles north-west of it. Both these sieges were in progress, and other expeditions meditated, when the arrival of the Governor-General at Madras gave a turn to the whole plan of the war. His Lordship determined to assume the command of the whole army, that his presence there might be a pledge of sincerity to his allies, that he might infuse confidence in all ranks, and urge forward bolder and more decisive measures. Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras on the 12th of December, and Tippoo heard of his arrival while he was himself negotiating with the French authorities at Pondicherry; but on receiving the intelligence he

moved rapidly away to the defence of the mountain passes in his dominions.

## 1791.

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1. WAR IN INDIA—LORD CORNWALLIS TAKES THE FIELD AGAINST TIPPOO.

Two lines of approach into the kingdom of Mysore offered themselves to the invading army—the one which had been attempted by General Meadows in the last campaign, but which was thought to draw the columns too far from their principal dépôt at Madras; the other by Vellore, Amboor, and Bangalore. This latter was the shortest and most direct, but two mountain ranges had to be passed through, and Bangalore, a place second in regard to strength only to Seringapatam itself, had to be reduced: nevertheless, it was by this line that Lord Cornwallis resolved to proceed.

On the 29th of January Lord Cornwallis assumed the command at Vellout, from which he broke up on the 5th of February, and on the 11th the army was concentrated near Vellore, leaving General Musgrave with a sufficient force to protect the Carnatic. Tippoo, who thought his presence in the Carnatic would deter the English from advancing upon Mysore, continued for some days to hold his ground at Gingee, and even endeavoured to open a negotiation for peace with the British commander, but both the time of his messages and the rank of the messengers proving distasteful to the Governor-General, the attempt came to nothing, and Lord Cornwallis moved forward. The direction taken by his Lordship indicated an intention of entering Mysore by the Amboor or Ryacotta passes, so that Tippoo was deceived as to the true line of advance; but as soon as he discovered that the British army had gained the summit of the Mooglee pass, he hastened to Bangalore by way of Changama and

Policody to remove his harem and treasures, and retrieve the error of which he found that he had been guilty. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, by a series of judicious feints, had completely deceived the Sultan as to the point at which the British army intended to penetrate Mysore. At Vellore he had suddenly changed his line of march, by which means the army arrived within 1000 yards of the pettah at Bangalore without having suffered any serious inconvenience or loss of life. The forts of Colur and Ouscotta surrendered to the British arms without resistance, in sight of a large body of the Sultan's cavalry, who had been hastily detached to lay waste the country, and burn up all the fodder on the route which the English had taken. The pettah, or town of Bangalore, was the primary object of attack. It lay to the north of the fort, and had several gates. The whole of the Sultan's force soon appeared for its defence, and commenced a distant and ineffectual cannonade. Tippoo immediately made a demonstration as if he designed to cut off the baggage of the British army, but Lord Cornwallis, by drawing out his rearguard, and causing the waggons to defile under the cover of it, defeated the attempt. On the 5th of March, the day after the arrival of the British army, the cavalry, under Colonel Floyd, were sent out to cover a reconnaissance of the engineers towards the east of the fort. They observed the rear of the enemy, as they thought, considerably detached from the main army, and they imprudently attacked and overthrew it; but in the eagerness of pursuit they came suddenly upon a support of infantry and guns, which not only checked them, but compelled the victors to a precipitate retreat. At this juncture Floyd received a musket shot through both cheeks, which, though it did not prevent him from maintaining his seat on horseback, hindered him from giving orders, and the men, left without a leader, fell into confusion. The enemy hastened to take advantage of the circumstance, and assailed the cavalry with a heavy fire of small arms; fortunately, however, a brigade of infantry, under Major Gowdie, came up at the opportune moment, and prevented a total discomfiture.

## 2. BANGALORE BESIEGED AND TAKEN.

It was determined to attack the pettah by assaulting one of the gates, and guns were brought up to bear against it, under Colonel Moorhouse of the artillery. On the 7th the first barrier was gallantly carried, but the field-pieces were not strong enough to force the gate, and it was necessary to bring up some 18-pounders to perform the work. In the mean time a vigorous fire of musketry and rockets from the turrets galled the assailants, and the troops were somewhat impatient of the delay at the gate in consequence; but as soon as a small opening was made by the artillery, Lieutenant Eyre of the 86th regiment, a man of very diminutive stature, was raised on the shoulders of some grenadiers and passed through. General Meadows, who was present, called on the troops to "support the little gentleman;" they responded to the call, advanced through the gate, and the place was captured with the loss of 100 men. The enemy, the same evening, made an attempt to

regain possession of the pettah, and the streets of the town were for a lengthened period the scene of a determined and doubtful conflict. This was finally decided by an advance with the bayonet, and the Mysore troops were soon driven from every post, and compelled to retire into the fort with a loss of 2000 killed and wounded. The casualties of the English were not great, but amongst the killed was Colonel Moorhouse, the highly distinguished soldier who directed the artillery. This officer had risen from the ranks, and, though uneducated, had made himself a man of science, and a career of great usefulness and distinction seemed to be before him: as he commanded general respect he was honoured with a public funeral, at which the whole army assisted, and a monument to his memory has been erected at the public expense in the church of Madras. It was found impracticable to invest the fort, and accordingly the garrison was relieved from day to day with the utmost regularity: as a consequence the defence was maintained with great spirit. Batteries were nevertheless erected and opened against it, and the sap was uninterruptedly pursued, but during a full fortnight the progress of the besiegers did not keep pace with the expectations of their general. Various were the expedients adopted by Tippoo to embarrass the assailants. He took the opportunity of a fog to advance some guns so as to command the whole of the trenches and flying sap: but no sooner did his guns open their fire than the covering party turned out and forced them to be withdrawn hastily before they had done any serious mischief. Another time he pushed a corps of infantry with nine pieces of artillery in rear of the British lines, but his courage failed him before he made any attack. The sap continued to be pushed forward, the batteries played without ceasing, and at length a breach was effected, which, though both narrow and steep, Lord Cornwallis resolved to attempt, but kept his intention a profound secret until the moment of its execution. The breach had been effected on the 20th, but Tippoo, either informed of the designs of the British general, or anticipating his intentions, made a last effort to save the place. At daybreak on the 21st one strong column approached the pettah on the west; another, supported by ten or twelve guns, took post in a cypress grove about 1000 yards to the east; whilst the main body of the army drew out in battle array to the north. The British troops were immediately ordered under arms; and Colonel Stuart's division was advanced, as if to turn the enemy's right flank, when Tippoo retired his first column; but the second still maintained a menacing attitude, and a number of men were seen busily employed opening embrasures on the parapet of a tank, which might sweep the front of the breach and enfilade the British batteries. All this bore a very formidable appearance, for Lord Cornwallis found his ammunition to fall short; he nevertheless kept his enemy at bay during the whole of the day of the 21st, but determined to hazard an assault a little after ten the same night: the storming party accordingly quitted the trenches, and had made some progress before the garrison took the alarm; but the kildar, Bahadur Khan, a distinguished soldier, was in a moment at the head

of his men. The assailants were met with a heavy but ill-directed fire. They were pushed forward in three divisions, which, meeting at the opposite gate, spread themselves to the right and left along the ramparts, and in less than an hour the place was taken. A terrible carnage ensued, and more than 1000 bodies were committed to the grave by the victors, and in the number that of the brave old killidar, who fell sword in hand. Lord Cornwallis sent to the Sultan to inform him of his death, and that the body should, if he pleased, be transmitted to him. His answer was, "I consider the spot of ground which the body of a soldier covers, when he falls in the execution of his duty, to be the most honourable that can be chosen for his grave." He was buried by the British with military honours, and was attended to his final resting-place by the most distinguished Mussulmans of the British army. Three hundred of the garrison are said to have been bayoneted at one gate, which was completely choked up by the flying soldiers. The loss to the British in the assault was trifling, but the siege from beginning to end cost them very dear. The conquest, however, was an important one; for the British army was now fixed in the heart of Tippoo's dominion, and, had the siege been raised, it is probable that the whole of the siege train must have been abandoned.

### 3. ADVANCE OF OTHER ARMIES INTO MYSORE.

Though the citadel of Bangalore fell on the night of the 21st, it was the 28th before Lord Cornwallis was enabled to move forward. It will be convenient, therefore, to avail ourselves of this interval to notice the movements of the other forces on the field in aid of the Governor-General's operations. Colonel Hartley, with a force consisting of one regiment of Europeans and two battalions of sepoys, with some field artillery, advanced from the side of Cochin to threaten the entrance of the Mysore by the Guejelhutty pass, and fell in with a body of the Sultan's troops, amounting to near 6000 men, under Hussein Ali, in a strong position near Calicut. This leader, disdaining the cautious policy of his master, forthwith attacked the British, but was utterly defeated, the general himself and 900 men being made prisoners, and 1000 killed and wounded. General Abercrombie, the Governor of Bombay, was marching from that presidency in the direction of Mysore, with the hope of sharing in the honours of the war at the capital. By the 1st of March he had reached the Poodicherrum pass opposite to Caunansee, which place had surrendered unconditionally, and here he was directed to remain until further orders. On the 4th of May he was commanded by express to quit that situation, and make a forward movement, and he proceeded immediately, with incredible labour and much suffering (for the whole country had been devastated by Tippoo's ravages and burnings), to Periapatam, about three marches distant from Seringapatam, and passed the Ghauts' range at that point.

The armies of the Nizam and the Mahrattas were at this time in action: the former had besieged and taken Copool, and the latter was about to besiege Darwar, for which purpose, as these troops had

little experience in the conduct of a siege, a detachment of Europeans and sepoys, under Colonel Frederick, was despatched from Bombay, and had joined the Mahratta army of 20,000 horse, and 10,000 foot, under Purseram Bhow, at Coompta. An assault upon Darwar prematurely made ended in a repulse, and the siege continued to be languidly prosecuted till the fall of Bangalore led to a proposal from the officer in command to surrender. The capture of Darwar was followed by that of the strong fort of Khoorgul, and by the possession of every place north of the Toombuddra.

#### 4. CORNWALLIS IS JOINED BY THE NIZAM AND ADVANCES TO SERINGAPATAM.

Lord Cornwallis having obtained some promised supplies from the Polygars, broke up on the 28th and moved towards Deonhully. The Mysore forces struck their tents on the same day, and moved away towards Ballipore, so that both armies passed each other at the distance of about three miles at daybreak. Tippoo's object was to avoid a battle, and he therefore continued his retreat, effecting his purpose with some difficulty, the infantry being under his own personal command, covered by his cavalry. The British pressed hard upon them, and so much dispersed his horse by the fire of the artillery, that they were driven back on the foot, who now broke into several columns to effect a retreat by different routes. One brass 9-pounder and some ammunition waggons were taken. The object of the Governor-General's march was to form a junction with the reinforcement of cavalry promised him by the Nizam. On the 12th of April 10,000 of Nizam Ali's horse joined the British army: their first appearance was novel and interesting. "It is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not have been found in this motley crowd; the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form; metallic helmets of every pattern; simple defences for the head, a steel bar descending diagonally as a protection to the face; defences of bars, scales of chainwork descending behind or on the shoulders; cuirasses, suits of armour or detached pieces for the arm; complete coats of mail in chainwork; shields, bucklers, and quilted jackets, sabre proof; . . . above all, the total absence of every symptom of order or obedience or command, excepting groups collected round their respective flags; every individual an independent warrior, self-impelled, affecting to be the champion whose single arm was to achieve victory. The whole exhibition presenting to the mind an imagery scarcely more allied to previous impressions of reality than the fictions of an Eastern tale, or the picturesque disorder of a dramatic scene<sup>1</sup>."

They were said to number 15,000, but did not in reality exceed 10,000. The probability was that they would prove a burden rather than an assistance to the British army. The impossibility of relying

<sup>1</sup> Wilks's *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, III. p. 135.  
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on such a body for the execution of any combined movement was obvious. They were accordingly dispersed amongst the other troops; 2000 of the most select were attached to the reserve under Colonel Floyd, and placed under Major Dales, in the hope that his skill, conciliation, and example, might render them of some efficiency; but it was all to no purpose, they could never be relied upon. A more valuable reinforcement joined on the 18th; 4000 or 5000 men, under Colonel Oldham, were met at Veniatagherry, with 700 Europeans and an additional supply of provisions from Caroor.

Lord Cornwallis having thus obtained all the strength he expected, immediately set to work with energy to prepare for the reduction of Tippoo's capital before the monsoon. This would probably bring the war to a speedy termination; and the aspect of European politics, which betokened an early war with France, rendered the difficulties of deferring such an enterprise very great indeed. The general, however, was very much distressed by a deficiency of transport; there were scarcely more bullocks than were necessary for meat; and not nearly enough for the quantity of provisions, camp equipage, ordnance and stores, that it was essential to carry up with the army. The officers were therefore requested to reduce their claims for accommodation to the lowest practicable degree; and, further, to carry at their own expence two or three bullock loads of shot and shell, an appeal which to their honour be it recorded was not made in vain. The Nizam's cavalry was turned to account also in this way, and they carried five thousand 18-pound shots on their horses. All cheerfully sacrificed their own convenience to the service of the army.

On the 4th of May the whole force was put in motion to advance to Seringapatam, and an express was sent to acquaint General Abercrombie and to desire that he would make a simultaneous movement from the Malabar side. The march was made by a circuitous route much interrupted by jungles, rivers, and ravines, in the hope of avoiding the devastation which was certain to have been adopted along the direct road—the usual policy of the Mysoreans being to destroy whatever might afford relief to the necessities of an invading army. Conflagration therefore had been ordered to do its work—the grain was to be burned or buried—not an inhabitant was to remain through the expanded waste to guide the steps of those who were to witness nothing but deserted houses and blighted fields. Tippoo was beforehand with the English general, even in the route he at length selected. The march of the British army seemed to be over a country where some convulsion of nature had swept away every human being and every thing by which human life could be supported. After incredible labour and much suffering the head of the column arrived at a stone fort called Maravelly, where some grain was found, but even this opportune and happy discovery did not preclude the necessity of reducing the daily issue of rice to half-allowance. On the 18th the head of the column arrived at Arkary or Arikera, a place on the banks of the Caverry, about nine miles from Seringapa-



tam. A considerable body of the enemy was now visible at the distance of six miles in front; and it was ascertained that the whole army was encamped between them and the city, their right protected by the Cavery, and their left by a chain of rugged hills, while a deep swampy ravine defended by batteries ran along the whole of the front. Such information as could be obtained went to show that it might be practicable to cross a ridge on the right of the English army, which might turn the enemy's left, and Lord Cornwallis immediately resolved to attempt it the same night. Six European regiments, twelve battalions of native infantry, one European and three native regiments of cavalry, and a few field-pieces were told off to march at eleven at night under the personal direction of the Commander-in-Chief; but even before they moved a terrific storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning of the most awful character, burst forth. Vexed, but not dispirited the troops pushed forward in profound silence, and at dawn of day found themselves within three miles of the enemy's camp. The approach of the English was unobserved by Tippoo till they had begun to descend the heights on the eastward of the ravine, and the Sultan then immediately anticipated their object, which was to gain possession of a commanding height on his left, and the arrangements he made in consequence have received the applause of no less eminent a military authority than Sir Thomas Munro. Tippoo Sultan detached a considerable body of both cavalry and infantry with eight guns to seize the hill, and sent out some cavalry to hover on the right of the British advancing force, to check the rapidity of their advance, while he very promptly changed the front of his line to the left, covering one flank by a steep hill previously in his rear, and the other by the ravine which had before defended his front. Lord Cornwallis immediately made the necessary arrangements for an attack upon this new position. Nine battalions under General Meadows and Colonel Stuart were posted in a first line, and four battalions under Colonel Harris in a second, but before any disposition could be made for bringing these troops into action it was necessary to dislodge the enemy from the height. This task was assigned to Colonel Maxwell, who without artillery and with one column of infantry, having cavalry on both flanks, pushed forward with so much spirit that the enemy in sheer fright drew off their guns; and with such rapidity and impetuosity did Maxwell advance that he came up with, and speedily broke, the line of the enemy's infantry, and even overtook some of the guns going off, on the opposite descent of the hill; the infantry rallied to defend them, but in vain; he became master of the summit of the hill and of the guns. This rapid success was the signal for the advance of the two lines under Meadows and Harris against the main body of the enemy, and the battle became general along the entire front. Colonel Maxwell had been ordered after carrying the hill to leave a sufficient force to retain possession of it, and with the rest of his troops to advance and possess himself of the hills that covered the left flank of the main army of the enemy. He was rapidly performing this duty when Colonel Floyd with the British cavalry charged the

rear of the enemy's retreating infantry, and nearly destroyed them; but his progress being checked by a larger body of infantry which rallied and made a stand on some marshy ground on which he could not act, Floyd withdrew his men, and at the same moment the cavalry of the Nizam which had followed the English cavalry threw themselves in an unwieldy mass in front of this wing of the British army, the advance of which they impeded, while from the nature of the ground they could prove of no service. Thus an invaluable though short space of time was lost, which enabled the enemy to avail themselves of the aid of the batteries upon the island, and by retreating under their protection, to save their army in some confusion from entire destruction.

It has been recorded on good authority that the behaviour of the Mysore infantry on this occasion was such as to excite both astonishment and respect, and it was evident that the difficulty of putting them to flight was greater than on previous occasions. They stood the fire of musketry till the enemy's troops were within a few yards of them; they defended every post; they rallied wherever the ground was favourable, and when at last driven from the field, they retreated without being broken. It was not solely to the improvement of their discipline that all this might be attributed; Tippoo was himself in the midst of them, and the strength of the ground, full of rocks and ravines, afforded them shelter every where, and made it difficult to follow them. They did, however, at length, fall back within the island on which Seringapatam stands, and the city now became fully open to the view of the pursuers.

Before undertaking the siege of Seringapatam, however, Lord Cornwallis thought it prudent to endeavour to form a junction with General Abercrombie, and with this view, after a halt of two days, he marched his army to Caniambaddy, the ford at that place being deemed an eligible spot for crossing the river; but this delay and short march revealed to him such an insufficiency of means for carrying on the siege, both in provisions and cattle, the latter being now so reduced as to be almost entirely unfit for service, upwards of 40,000 of them having perished since the opening of the campaign; such too was the deplorable condition of his troops, who were suffering from every kind of disease, not even excepting small pox, that Lord Cornwallis saw the matter was hopeless, and suddenly determined (for a time at least) to abandon all attempts against Tippoo's stronghold, and submit to the mortification of relinquishing the fair prospect that fortune seemed to have almost brought within his grasp, for a later but surer triumph. He had gained an advantage, and mortified his opponent with the bitterness of a defeat within sight of his capital, but as was said by old Sir Eyre Coote on a parallel occasion, "he would gladly have exchanged the reputation of victory for a few days' rice."

##### 5. LORD CORNWALLIS WITHDRAWS HIS ARMY TO BANGALORE.

Accordingly on the 20th of May, exactly a week after his arrival at Arikera, he prepared for a retrograde movement. Orders were

instantly despatched to General Abercrombie, who was in position at Periapatam, to fall back without delay. A portion of the battering train that had been prepared for the siege was destroyed; some of the powder was thrown into wells, but some was left behind in a celebrated Hindoo temple, where the Mysoreans afterwards found and set fire to it, which destroyed the temple and a great part of the town of Periapatam; the shot and shell were buried, and every arrangement made for carrying the army back to Bangalore. On the 26th the troops began their retreat, and before the conclusion of the first day's march a large body of horse made their appearance on the rear of the principal column. Colonel Stuart, who commanded in the rear, instantly prepared to resist their attack, and the British had begun to fire, when to the great joy and surprise of the army it proved to be the advanced guard of a powerful Mahratta force of 30,000 men, which was marching under the command of Purseram Bhow and Hurry-punt, to the support of the British army. This body of auxiliaries were believed to have been not less than 150 miles distant from the army which they so suddenly joined, but though 100 messengers had been sent forward to announce their approach, every one of them had been intercepted by the light troops of Tippoo. These Mahrattas had been occupied with the reduction of Darwar, when they heard of the approaching siege of Seringapatam, and instantly pressed forward to join the Governor-General's army.

#### 6. THE MAHRATTA ARMY UNEXPECTEDLY JOINS LORD CORNWALLIS.

Had the junction of the Mahrattas taken place somewhat earlier, some heavy sacrifices made by the British army might have been averted, but as it was, their accession was most welcome. They brought an ample supply of bullocks, and large stores of all necessary articles of consumption. At a moment of sore need every kind of provision at once abounded for the use of the united armies, which, though it did not authorize a sufficient change of plan in the British General to induce him to return to the siege, enabled him to conduct his retreat in good order. On the 6th of June, the allied armies commenced their march, taking a circuitous route by Nagmungall, and, passing Hoolindroog on the 18th of June, the killidar of the fort was summoned, and induced to surrender; but the same success did not attend a similar summons to the forts of Ootradroog and Savandroog, which were therefore passed by, and the army reached Bangalore on the 11th of July. The first matter requiring consideration now was what was to be done with the Mahratta allies. These had, in truth, brought supplies, but did not impart of their abundance to the English either freely or gratuitously, and they gave Lord Cornwallis at once to understand that they could only keep the field at all by being regularly subsidized. The General was in no condition to temporize, and at once took measures to keep these unprofitable friends, but who might prove dangerous enemies, in good humour. This important preliminary being arranged, Purseram Bhow, with his army and a detachment of Bombay troops, proceeded by Sera to commence a series of operations to the

north-west; and at the same time the Nizam's cavalry under Assud Ali were sent to operate in some movements on the north-east.

#### 7. LORD CORNWALLIS REDUCES THE HILL-FORTS AROUND BANGALORE.

Lord Cornwallis, on his side, was not disposed to remain idle: he determined to reduce such intermediate fortresses as might be necessary for the establishment of a chain of tenable posts all the way from Madras to Seringapatam, by which the transit of supplies might be hereafter facilitated, when the army should again be called upon to assemble before the enemy's capital. Tippoo was in no condition to stir from home: the same severe weather that had destroyed half Lord Cornwallis's cavalry and nearly all his bullocks, was experienced in an equal degree by the Sultan, whilst his means of recruiting his strength were very greatly diminished. His supply of horses, for example, was derived chiefly from the countries of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, both of which, in consequence of the war, were now shut against him. His infantry, again, was a good deal diminished by the same diseases that had raged in the British lines, and he scarcely now held any portion of his dominions beyond a belt around his capital, from which he could draw recruits. Here and there a stronghold was still garrisoned in his name, and against these Lord Cornwallis now advanced. On the 15th of July the army was again in motion towards the forts of Ossoor and Rayacottah, which commanded the Policade Ghaut. On his approach to the former the garrison evacuated and blew up the fort. Various forts were also taken possession of, some of them without resistance. From Ossoor the British army moved in the direction of the Policade and Rayacottah passes through the Ghauts, which were defended by forts. Rayacottah was not so easily obtained. It was defended by successive ranges of works and garrisoned by 800 men; and so confident was the killidar in the strength of his works and his garrison, that he not only rejected the summons to surrender, but fired on the flag that brought it. It was accordingly invested on the 19th of July by a brigade under the command of Major Gowdie, who sent forward a detachment of 350 men with guns to attack the pettah. The gate was soon blown open, but the garrison kept up a brisk fire on the assailants from the upper and central works. Major Gowdie headed the attacks, and carried several successive gates, until, on the morning of the 20th, he obtained the lower fort by assault, and soon afterwards gained possession of two walls which formed an intermediate defence between this lower one and that on the summit of the high precipitous rock. He now sent back for further assistance, and two marching guns were sent to him on the 22nd, with a regiment, while the main army made a demonstration of advancing to his support. On this appearance the killidar surrendered.

It was necessary to take advantage of the months of August, September, and October to clear the whole valley of Baramahal, in order to establish a future base of operations. For this purpose the hill-forts

to the north-east of Bangalore, though of inferior importance, required to be secured. Accordingly, a corps was formed to reduce them; Gowdie's brigade, to which were added the 4th battalion of Madras infantry and Captain Reid's native infantry, were appointed for this service. On the 14th of September the force was encamped within nine miles of Raymanghar, and on the 16th that place was invested; on the 17th the batteries opened with great effect, and in a few days the fort surrendered at discretion. The fortress of Nundidroog, a place of great strength, about seventy miles to the north of Seringapatam, between Bangalore and Gurumunda (it is built on the summit of a mountain 1700 feet in height), was so formidable as to require the army to take the field in order to deter Tippoo from making an attempt to interrupt the siege. No labour had been spared to add to its strength. The steep and rugged granite acclivity on which the fort was built, and the two walls of masonry at the distance of eighty yards from each other, with cavaliers and towers, by which its approaches were defended, demanded means of attack of greater power than those fortresses that had already fallen. With incredible labour and great loss of men guns were carried up the hill, and at the end of fifteen days a battery of eight embrasures was constructed on the ascent within 500 yards of the wall; but it was only after an incessant fire, well directed for six successive days, that some practicable breaches could be effected in it. The fire was vigorously returned from the fort, and the killidar refused to listen to any terms of surrender. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, advanced his army to within a few miles of the place, and General Meadows was directed soon after midnight on the 19th of October to march to the assault, which was made simultaneously at two breaches. The enemy were prepared to receive the assailants with a heavy fire of musketry and rockets; but more injury was inflicted by stones of immense size and weight, that were rolled down upon the troops as they ascended. The judicious arrangements made by General Meadows for the assault were however carried into effect. Immediately before the troops advanced on this difficult and dangerous enterprise some person observed that a mine was supposed to be laid near the breach. General Meadows with presence of mind and equal spirit instantly answered, "that if a mine was really there it could only be a mine of gold," and dashed on without another word. The assailants not only entered the breaches, but forced the gate of the inner wall, and the resistance was not long protracted. On seeing the firm advance of the British the garrison became clamorous for surrender, and the commanding officer, whose name was Luft Ali Beg, was in despair. He was a man of lofty rank, having been associated by Tippoo in the embassy he had sent to Constantinople, and stood high in the esteem of his sovereign; but his men, in defiance of his entreaties, left him, descended the wall by ladders of ropes, and escaped through the jungles; others, abandoning their posts, fled for shelter to the principal pagoda, in which they subsequently surrendered; but the greater number escaped over the precipices at the back of the fort. Luft Ali Beg and the second killidar, surrendered themselves

prisoners. The reduction of Nundidroog was followed by the despatch of a detachment under Colonel Maxwellin to Baramahal, to counteract the depredations of a force of Mysoreans under the command of Bakir Sahib, son of the gallant killidar of Darwar, made for the purpose of incapacitating that district from contributing to the supplies of the British army. His ejection from the valley was speedily effected, and the pettah of Kistnagherry destroyed, so as to leave the enemy's predatory parties no cover there.

#### 8. TIPPOO SENDS A FORCE TO ASSAULT COIMBATORE, WHICH IS REPULSED.

While these operations were taking place, the Sultan received intelligence that the district of Coimbatore, situated to the south of Seringapatam, was occupied by a very inconsiderable force, and accordingly he sent off a detachment to subdue it. The defence of Coimbatore, both province and fort, together with that of Paligaut, had been entrusted to Major Cuppage, who, deeming the fort of Coimbatore incapable of sustaining a siege, had removed the heavy guns and stores to Paligaut, but left the town of Coimbatore in charge of Lieutenant Chalmers. This active and enterprising young officer, instead of idling his time, made use of his leisure to examine the guns that had been cast aside as unserviceable, and found the means of remounting some of them, and with these and a few swivels, together with a quantity of damaged powder and 500 shot, he determined to make a stand for a few days in the event of the fort ever being attacked. This apprehension was soon converted into a certainty. The place was invested by a force of 2000 infantry, a considerable body of cavalry, eight guns, and a number of irregular troops on the 18th of June. Chalmers had but an indifferent garrison, consisting of 120 topasses, and 200 Travancoreans, who, when they did not run away, were most difficult people to keep in subordination; nevertheless, the Lieutenant, nothing daunted, refused to listen to the summons, which was repeated after the expiration of two days without effect; and after the construction of a battery by the assailants a third summons was equally disregarded. The besiegers accordingly began to fire from their battery, and the shot did considerable injury to the works, which gave the little garrison abundant employment to repair. Another, a third, and still another battery were constructed, and a vigorous fire of guns and rockets was maintained. Lieutenant Chalmers had prepared several casks filled with combustibles, which were placed on the ramparts to be used against the enemy if they attempted an escalade, which appeared to have been intended; and as the danger increased, the mines were loaded and the gates blocked up with earth and stones. The store of shot beginning to fail, hammermen were actively employed in making iron slugs to supply the deficiency of balls. The works of the besiegers were now within fifty yards of the walls. The store of ammunition was nearly exhausted; the wounded were numerous, and without medical assistance; the Travancore people were also clamorous for a surrender;

but these had for their commander a young Frenchman named De la Combe, in the service of the Rajah, and he refused to listen to them. The siege had lasted nearly two months before the enemy ventured on a general assault. This was done on the 11th of August, in five distinct attacks; the first struggle was at a point defended by young De la Combe, whose personal gallantry had so beneficial an influence over those he commanded, that they opposed to the enemy a fierce resistance; nevertheless, he was almost overpowered, as was also Chalmers, who was personally engaged in defending the weakest point of the works. The barrels were therefore thrown over into the midst of the assailants, and one of them exploding amongst a crowded mass of them, the fortune of the day turned; the besiegers gave way; and as party after party retired from the ramparts, their discomfiture was increased by hurling down upon their heads vast pieces of rock. The conflict lasted two hours; but the number of the enemy's dead left behind them, on the ramparts and in the ditch, exceeded the entire strength of the garrison by whom the place had been defended.

It was not fitting that such men should be abandoned; and though a due regard to the safety of Paligaut prevented Major Cuppage from doing much for their relief, he afforded them some assistance by adding to the permanent strength of the garrison some revenue troops under Mr. Macleod, and a company of sepoy's commanded by Lieutenant Nash, thus increasing the garrison to about 700 men. With the aid of this reinforcement the enemy were driven from the pettah, which they had still continued to occupy.

#### 9. COIMBATORE BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY TIPPOO'S TROOPS.

Scarcely, however, had Chalmers time to repair the breaches in the works and make other dispositions for defence, before the enemy reappeared. The force now brought up was commanded by Kummer-oo-Deen Khan, with 8000 regular infantry, fourteen guns, four mortars, and a large body of irregulars and horse. This chief at once retook possession of the pettah without opposition, and erected batteries and opened approaches under the cover of a heavy fire, to which the besiegers could very inadequately respond. But Major Cuppage determined to make an attempt to force the enemy to raise the siege, and advanced with three battalions of the Company's sepoy's, two of Travancoreans, and six field-pieces with this object. Kummer-oo-Deen, leaving a body in the trenches, marched out with the remainder of his force to meet Cuppage, and found him in the vicinity of a pass where the woods of Arivally terminate and the plain commences. The Khan made a demonstration of getting into Cuppage's rear to occupy this pass, so that Cuppage fell back to defend it, which he did successfully after a severe action; but alarmed for Paligaut he forthwith returned thither, and Kummer, relieved from all further fear of interruption, resumed the siege of Coimbatore. The fate of this place was now sealed; all hope of relief was at an end; a wide breach was soon rendered practicable, and the sap carried to the covered way. Chalmers and Nash were both wounded,

and there was nothing for it but surrender on the most favourable terms they could obtain, and the fort was given over to the conquerors on the 3rd of November, 143 days after it had been first invested. It was stipulated that the garrison should be permitted to march to Paligaut, but this was violated, and after a detention of thirteen days at Coimbatore, the prisoners were marched off to Seringapatam and exposed to all kinds of cruelties and indignities. What became of the Travancoreans and their gallant French leader, De la Combe, is not mentioned.

#### 10. LORD CORNWALLIS ASSAULTS AND CAPTURES SAVANDROOG AND OOTRADROOG.

Lord Cornwallis had in the mean time determined, if possible, to get possession of Savandroog. This place was so well fortified by nature and art as to have been generally thought impregnable. It was built on an immense rock of granite on the top of the Ghaut range, and said to be of the perpendicular height of a mile, rising from a base eight miles in circumference. On every side it is secured by thick and well-disposed walls and barriers which seem to set at defiance all hostile approach, whilst at the distance of two-thirds of its total elevation the summit is divided by a deep chasm into two citadels, each independent of the other, and both flanking each other. The surrounding country is a jungle several miles in depth, and defended by thickets of planted bamboos, but the atmosphere of these jungles is considered to be extremely noxious, so that from all these circumstances combined, the fort has received the name of Savandroog, or, the Rock of Death.

The conduct of this siege was entrusted to Colonel Stuart, and the force assigned to him, in addition to a powerful artillery, consisted of two European and three native regiments. The remainder of the army was disposed so as to watch every avenue from Seringapatam by which the operations of the siege could be disturbed. On the 10th of December Colonel Stuart pitched his camp within three miles of the north side of the fort, which was determined upon as the point of attack. The first operation was one of vast labour and difficulty: it was to cut a road from the encampment to the foot of the mountain over rocky precipices and through a thick forest of bamboos, and, as soon as it was made, the next job was to drag the guns by main force along it. Nothing daunted by such difficulties they were at length overcome, and on the 17th two batteries opened against the place, one at 1000 yards, and the other at 700 yards' distance, by which the defences of the walls were much damaged. On the 19th another battery was opened within 250 yards. In the course of that and the succeeding day a practicable breach was formed, and orders given to storm it on the following morning. The bamboo forest which had been a source of difficulty in making the road, was found of service in covering a closer approach to the attack, and under its protection, and that of crevices and jagged points of the rock, a lodgment was made for the troops within twenty yards of the breach. The storming party was directed to four different



attacks, and the hour fixed was one hour before noon. As the signal being given, one party under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt advanced to storm the eastern hill, but on the appearance of the English advance the garrison were seized with panic and fled, and the eastern hill-fort was carried without meeting or even overtaking the enemy. The attack on the western hill was thought to be a work of greater difficulty, and Captain Monson, to whom it was entrusted, was directed either to advance or not as circumstances might render it expedient. The officer in command of the citadel having witnessed the abandonment of the eastern hill, and the ascent of the English troops on that side, made a sally for the purpose of taking them in flank, when he was unexpectedly met among the rocks by Captain Monson's party, who immediately turned against them and followed them up to the gate, which was in the act of being closed against them, when the man was shot in the act by a serjeant of the 71st regiment, and the English rushed in and carried every succeeding barrier to the very top of the mountain. Thus in one hour and in open day the stupendous fortress of Savandroog was carried by storm with no other casualty than one man wounded.

The next place to be attempted was Ootradroog, a fortress some twelve miles in advance, scarcely of inferior strength and importance. A reconnaissance was made upon it on the 23rd, and a summons was sent in and fired at, but on the 24th the fort was attacked in a manner for which the killidar was not prepared. It was resolved to attack the pettah, and accordingly a number of field-pieces were run down early in the morning to appointed stations, and under cover of the fire of these 6-pounders, an escalade under the command of Captain Scott of the Bengal infantry commenced upon the pettah, which was found to be abandoned, and about nine o'clock the troops advanced to the fort. The side of the rock assaulted rose at an angle of about 35°, and was defended by seven ramparts rising one above another. The orders given to the artillery were, that as fast as one wall should be carried the guns were to open over the heads of the assailants against the next wall, and so on in succession for the purpose of keeping down the fire of the garrison. A brahmin was met in the way, who said he was deputed by the garrison to give assurance of their surrender notwithstanding the killidar's resolution to the contrary, but it soon became apparent that this was a mere feint, and that the object was to gain time for preparing a more efficient defence. The assault therefore continued, and Captain Scott advanced under cover of the 6-pounders, and wall after wall was carried successively and rapidly; some of the gateways were forced by the pioneers, but most of the ramparts were carried by escalade. The astonishment of the enemy was so great at the rapidity and vigour of the assault, that their fire, though heavy, was desultory and for the most part thrown away, and as soon as a single European showed his face they fled precipitately. Perceiving these signs of consternation amongst the enemy, the assailants attacked with a valour and confidence which their recent successes inspired, and many, terrified at the sight of the British

bayonet, precipitated themselves headlong from the rock. So great had been their fear of the English that it appears they had mutinied when called upon to defend the place, and 400 men had deserted in the night. The killidar was secured, and a great part of the garrison killed, but nothing could more strongly mark their inefficient defence than the fact, that when at the last gateway they attempted some resistance, and fired a few musket shots, they only slightly wounded two soldiers of the 72nd regiment, which were the only casualties of the day. Raingurry, and some other forts of inferior importance, were then taken with little trouble, and thus a direct and safe communication was established with Madras and the depôts in the rear of the British army, and a way to the capital of Mysore opened for the full force of the torrent which was soon to roll against it.

#### 11. THE NIZAM OBTAINS POSSESSION OF GORUMCUNDA.

The proceedings of the armies of the Nizam and the Mahrattas after they separated from Lord Cornwallis were not very important. The former was employed in besieging Gorumcunda from August to November. Their artillery was ineffectual to breach the fort, and to supply the deficiency other guns were despatched by Lord Cornwallis after the fall of Nundidroog. Still nothing was effected till Captain Read, who commanded the British contingent serving with the Nizam's army, offered to put him in possession of the fort, if he were entrusted with the exclusive management, otherwise he threatened to quit them altogether. The offer was accepted. Read therefore constructed a battery of two 26-pounders and two 18-pounders, and in two days effected a practicable breach. He fixed the night of the 7th November for the assault. The only Europeans with the detachment were his artillerymen, who volunteered to quit their guns and lead the others to the assault. By these means the lower fort was captured and given over to the charge of Nizam Ali's troops, but they did not keep it long; for the main army was moved from its neighbourhood about the middle of December towards Kolar, to assist in the protection of some Carnatic convoys, when on the 21st, Hyder Sahib, the eldest son of Tippoo, appeared before Gorumcunda with an army of some 12,000 horse and foot for the re-capture of the place. Hafiz Jee, who was left in command, supposing this unlooked-for appearance of troops to be merely some plunderers, sallied out on an elephant to reconnoitre, accompanied only by a few horsemen, but he soon found out his mistake. He was speedily surrounded and made prisoner, and the lower fort immediately seized, together with the whole of the Mogul garrison. Thus this recent acquisition easily fell again into the hands of the Mysore troops; but the conquest was not of any importance, for it was speedily restored to the Nizam by the English detachment.

#### 12. THE MAHRATTAS GET POSSESSION OF HOOLY-ONORE AND DEFEAT TIPPPOO'S ARMY.

The first attempt of the Mahrattas had been upon a hill-fort called

Kincopy, which they soon captured. Purseram Bhow next proceeded to attack a fort called Doorsadroog, which he could not take, and accordingly passed it by, continuing his march towards Chittledroog. This place was found too strong for attack, and the attempt to buy over the killidar was unsuccessful. Baffled, therefore, in the attempts to get these places by treachery, the Mahrattas passed on, consoling themselves by plundering wherever they could, until, on the 18th of December, they arrived near Hooly-Onore. Captain Little, commanding the British contingent serving with the Mahrattas, determined to attack this place, and proceeded to reconnoitre it. The pettah was gained with little difficulty; from thence some guns were opened on the fort at a distance of 150 yards; and a breach having been effected, the fort was stormed with success and without the loss of a man by a party under the command of Lieutenant Moore, who recorded the adventure with the simple remark that "the fellows ought to have been ashamed of themselves for making so pitiful a defence." It was not intended to have allowed the Mahratta plunderers, or looties, to enter the place, but as soon as the news of the capture of the fort reached the camp, though the gates were shut and the ladders removed from the breach, they succeeded in getting inside, when the work of devastation and plunder became general. On this the Mahratta General sent orders to the British detachment to quit the place. Of course this order could not be disobeyed, and accordingly those who had won the prize were ousted by those who had not in the slightest degree contributed to its capture. The fall of this place led to the immediate submission of all the fertile district of which it is the capital. After this the Mahratta army and Captain Little's contingent force proceeded to Simoga, and to the forts on the rivers Tum and Budra. Apprehensive that the Mahratta force would cross these rivers and invade the districts of Canara and Bednore, from which the Sultan drew his supplies, Tippoo had sent an army of 8000 men and ten guns, under his relation Riza Sahib, for their protection. These were now strongly posted with their right on the river Tum, their front covered by a deep ravine, while their left was defended by a jungle deemed to be impenetrable. Riza's object was to lie quiet till the siege of Simoga had commenced, and then to fall on the rear of the Mahratta force simultaneously with a sortie from the fort. This being known, it became of importance to dislodge them forthwith. The force destined to the attack on Riza Sahib was composed of about 1000 British sepoy, with four guns, and 500 Mahratta infantry, while 4000 Mahratta cavalry were posted in the neighbourhood. On the 25th of December this force crossed the Budra, and on the following day the Tum, both of which were at the time fordable. On the 28th Captain Little directed the main attack by an assault upon the centre of the enemy, while other parties were detached to attack the right and left of their position. After some time, during which the contest on the part of the English was maintained with spirit, the Mysoreans were driven back from their posts by the division on the left, and three of their guns taken. Captain Little instantly

pushed the enemy in the centre and forced them onwards for five miles, when he came up with the remaining seven of the enemy's guns, which he captured, and continued his pursuit till he had dispersed the whole corps of Riza Sahib. This action has been regarded as one of the most brilliant of the war. As soon as the camp was clear the Mahrattas poured into it, and found an enormous amount of plunder, with which they sated themselves; whilst Captain Little pursued the enemy, the Nabob escaping with 1500 infantry and 400 cavalry to the fort of Culydroog. The siege of Simoga had now to be prosecuted, but a battery of five guns effected a practicable breach after four days' firing. All was ready for the storm, when the fort capitulated on the 31st.

Flushed with his success, the Bhow now turned his face towards Bednore, but here he found Kummer-oo-Deen posted with a Mysorean army quite strong enough to stop his further triumphant progress.

#### 13. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS.

The war between the Russians and Turks was renewed in the spring. The Grand Vizier again formed a considerable army, and fought some actions of no great import with occasional successes on either side. The Russians made frequent irruptions across the Danube, and the Turks were on the 6th of April defeated on the Bulgarian side by Prince Galitzin; the Turkish cavalry being thrown into disorder by the Russian artillery, and routed before the infantry could come to their support. This misfortune occasioned such a panic as ended in a general retreat of the Turkish army.

Another Russian army invaded the province of Kuban. The Turks had intrenched themselves strongly in a fortified camp near Anapa, with a force consisting of 10,000 Turks and 15,000 Circassians and Tartars. General Godovich attacked them in position at eight o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of July, and after a most desperate and bloody engagement, which lasted for five hours, he succeeded in storming the camp and town, though every foot of ground was obstinately disputed; the slaughter was great on both sides; seventy-one pieces of artillery and several Pachas of rank were captured. Another bloody affair came on a few days later on the side of Bulgaria, where the Turks were again defeated near Matchin on the 9th of July by Prince Repnin.

#### 14. PRELIMINARIES SIGNED AT GALATZ—PEACE OF JASSY.

These were the last actions of this cruel war, which for carnage and cruelty exceeds any other known in modern history. Both parties were wearied of it, and the distresses of the Porte had become so great, and the dangers to which it was reduced so imminent, that the Grand Signior was obliged to submit to inevitable necessity, and accept of such terms as the Empress was pleased to dictate. Accordingly on the 11th of August preliminaries were agreed on at Galatz, which ripened into the peace of Jassy, concluded between Russia and the Porte on the 9th of January, 1792.

## 15. AFFAIR OF NOOTKA SOUND BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

In the spring Great Britain was on the eve of war with Spain on account of Nootka Sound on the north-west coast of America. Spain had seized a small fort, which was intended only as a defence against the natives by a small association of British merchants from the East Indies, who established a factory there for opening a trade to supply the Chinese with furs. The Spaniards conceived some jealousy at this intrusion of the English in a part of the world that they regarded as their own, and a Spanish frigate of 26 guns was despatched from the Vice-royalty of Mexico, which in July, 1789, captured two English vessels lying there, and took formal possession of the little settlement. The British government notified to that of Spain "that this act of violence necessarily suspended any discussion till an adequate atonement had been made," and Parliament voted a million to back this dignified reply, which in a short time induced Spain to concede the point to England.

## 16. CONGRESS AT REICHENBACH.

As soon as this dispute was settled, the British, jealous of the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey, had assembled at Reichenbach a congress for a defensive alliance of the other powers, when finding all pacific negotiations met by the Czarina with a refusal to admit of any interference between her and Turkey, the Minister, Pitt, demanded an augmentation of the naval forces to enforce some check to the dangerous advances of Russian ambition; but more pressing demands on the sympathy of the European powers put an end to this dispute.

## 17. SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND HIS BELGIAN SUBJECTS.

As soon as Leopold had got free from the Turkish wars he had leisure to turn his attention towards his Flemish subjects. Since their revolt the Belgian States had exercised all sovereign authority in the provinces; but a struggle soon ensued between the aristocratic and democratic elements of it. Two distinct parties were formed in the States, which afforded an opportunity for the Emperor to interfere. Accordingly, as soon as he was raised to the throne he issued a manifesto, engaging, under an inaugural oath and the guarantee of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, to govern according to the constitution of Maria Theresa, and he backed this by an entry of Austrian troops into the territory. Various engagements between them and the burghers soon indicated the folly of resistance against the sovereign, and the Austrians got possession in November, 1790, of Namur and Brussels. The corresponding disturbances at Liège were settled between the Bishop and the people on the 15th of February, and on the 24th the Convocation of the States at Brussels was dissolved.

## 18. BEGINNINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

France had long been the great object of interest and solicitude

to all the<sup>a</sup>courts of Europe, who could not but be sensible how deeply they were interested in the state of affairs which had been gradually drawing to a crisis in that nation. Revolutionary clubs, openly pronouncing for a democracy, were bold and unmeasured in their language against foreign courts, which the government could neither check nor punish, and which the associations of the Royalists were too inconsiderable to oppose. Emigrants, both of the royal family and the first nobility, flocked to foreign capitals, to solicit the mediation of the sovereigns. But in the mean while the Jacobins went on increasing in numbers and violence, and the emigration of the nobles augmented the distrust and suspicions of the people, which feeling was still further excited by insurrections of the royal party in different parts of the kingdom. At length the heads of the principal families in France set up a standard at Coblenz under the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Rohan, and made no secret of their intentions to regain by the sword the rights of which they had been deprived by the National Assembly. The King himself in the hands of the revolutionists, conspired against them and entered into a plot, the chief agent in which was the Marquis de Bouillé, military governor of Metz, and the object to escape from his kingdom with his Queen and Princesses. The subsequent flight of the royal family and its unfortunate failure at Varennes re-excited the worst feelings of the populace, and the National Assembly, greatly strengthened in their power by this event, passed strong decrees against the emigrants, and took the most vigorous steps to enforce their own authority.

In the attempted flight of the King, his brother, the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.), had taken part, but he had succeeded in effecting his escape. In the month of August in this year, he and his other brother, the Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.), as also the Marquis de Bouillé, appeared at a kind of Congress of Sovereigns, held at Piltitz in Saxony, in which an engagement was entered into by the Emperor and King of Prussia to interfere in certain eventual cases for the support of the royal authority in France. The Swedish monarch, Gustavus III., though he did not attend at Piltitz, joined in the object of this confederation, and was about to put himself at its head, when he was suddenly snatched away by assassination. Towards the close of this year the hostile intentions of the emigrants and German princes on the frontiers assumed a more manifest military demonstration, and on the 21st of December the Court of Vienna gave official notice to the French Ambassador, that Marshal Bender had been ordered to march to Treves to support the Elector there, in case of his being attacked from the side of France.

## 1792.

1. WAR IN INDIA, LORD CORNWALLIS INVESTS SERINGAPATAM.—2. NIGHT ATTACK UPON TIPPOT'S CAMP.—3. ATTACK CONTINUED THE FOLLOWING MORNING.—4. SERINGAPATAM BESIEGED IN FORM.—5. TIPPOT SULTAN SUBMITS AND DELIVERS UP HIS TWO SONS AS HOSTAGES FOR A TREATY.—6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY.—7. MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL DE SUFFREN.—8. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GUSTAVUS III. OF SWEDEN.—9. FORMAL DECLARATION OF WAR BY FRANCE AGAINST THE EMPIRE.—10. WAR COMMENCED ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF FRANCE.—11. THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK ISSUES A PROCLAMATION AND CROSSES THE RHINE.—12. RELATIVE FORCES ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER OF FRANCE.—13. AFFAIR OF VALMY.—14. THE ALLIED ARMIES REPASS THE MEUSE.—15. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.—16. WAR ON THE BELGIAN FRONTIER—CANNONADE OF LILLE.—17. BATTLE OF JEMAPPES.—18. FRENCH ENTER BRUSSELS—RESIDE ANTWERP AND NAMUR.—19. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—PRUSSIANS RETAKE FRANKFORT.—20. THE GERMANS SUCCESSFULLY PROTECT TREVES.—21. SWITZERLAND SAVED FROM ATTACK.—22. RUSSIANS INVADE POLAND.

## 1. WAR IN INDIA, LORD CORNWALLIS INVESTS SERINGAPATAM.

It is now necessary to return to the British army under the command of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, whose headquarters were established on the 1st of January at Ootradroog. Here the Nizam's forces also joined him on the 25th of the month. All the supplies and reinforcements, which were on a larger scale than had been seen in former wars, were now arrived, and the allied armies proceeded on the 1st of February on their second expedition against the capital of the Sultan Tippoo, before which they arrived without opposition from the enemy on the fifth day of their march. Tippoo had hoped to deter Lord Cornwallis from this attack by an attempt to lay waste the Carnatic, and had actually advanced a part of his troops within three miles of Madras, who killed many people and burned some villages: there he also tried again to open negotiations with his Lordship, but the messengers were dismissed with a verbal answer, and Tippoo called in his marauders and prepared for his defence.

Nothing occurred worthy of notice during the advance of the British army, except that the country was every where laid waste as usual: an occasional squadron of the enemy's horse hovered along the line of march, as if to reconnoitre, and immediately disappeared when any movement was made to intercept it. Seringapatam at length lay before the advancing forces, with Tippoo's army of 45,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 100 guns, encamped under its walls. Here they were protected from insult by a chain of field-works ~~scarcely less~~ formidable than the city itself. This is seated on an island about

four miles long and one and a half broad, formed by a division of the river Cavery, which flows around it in two distinct channels. The river is fordable in several places, but all these were protected by the redoubts which had been thrown up for their defence by the European engineers in Tippoo's army. On both sides of the river opposite to the island of Seringapatam a large space is enclosed by a bound-hedge of thorns and aloes, which marks the limits of the capital, and affords a place of refuge from the incursions of cavalry, and within it were now several redoubts, one on a commanding eminence of great strength called Pagoda Hill. In rear of the hedge were the lines, having within them, at convenient distances, eight field-forts, each fort having double ditches with glacis and a covered way capable of containing 500 or 600 men each, and armed with from ten to twenty guns of heavy calibre. Near to the spot where the Cavery unites its divided waters, stands the Laul Baug, or the Sultan's great garden, not very distant from which is Shahir Gangain, a pettah surrounded by a strong mud wall. In these forts were mounted not fewer than 300 pieces of cannon.

Lord Cornwallis on his arrival was joined by General Abercrombie, who closed in upon the southern side of the river, and the Nizam's corps filled up the interval between the two divisions of the British army. Thus having lost no time in completing the investment, and having made his reconnaissance, Lord Cornwallis determined to attack the enemy on the night of the 6th of February. The apparent temerity of this resolve, seeing that it was to be performed by infantry alone without guns, filled every one with astonishment.

## 2. NIGHT ATTACK UPON TIPPPOO'S CAMP.

The troops had been dismissed from their evening parade about six o'clock, without any thing transpiring of the Commander-in-Chief's intentions, when orders came for a general assault forthwith, and by half-past eight every thing was in readiness, and the troops commenced their march in profound silence. The attack was made in three columns, each preceded by a body of pioneers with ladders. Neither the tents nor the guns were moved, in order to obviate all suspicion of what was intended. The right column, under General Meadows, consisted of the 36th and 76th regiments of the Bengal brigade, and Captain Oram's battalion of Madras sepoys: this was destined to turn the enemy's left. The centre column, under Colonel Stuart, was composed of the 52nd, 71st, and 74th royal regiments, supported by the 4th Bengal and 2nd and 21st coast battalions. The astonishment and pleasure were great to see Lord Cornwallis post himself at the head of this column, which was to force the enemy's centre, and possess themselves of all the enemy's works to the right. The left column, led on by Colonel Maxwell, was made up of the 72nd royal regiment and the 5th and 23rd battalions of the coast brigade, and was required to storm the Pagoda Hill; while a party of lascars and artillerymen, under the orders of Major Montague, followed in rear of all for the purpose of turning the enemy's guns (as soon as taken) upon themselves. It was nearly eleven o'clock



when the centre column encountered near the boundary-hedge a body of the enemy's cavalry, who were carrying rockets and other implements of Indian warfare to disturb the British camp; these immediately galloped off to their lines, and by this means announced to the enemy the approach of the British attacking force. The front division nevertheless pushed briskly forward, passed the hedge, and reached the enemy's lines within a quarter of an hour after their approach had become known. Midnight was near at hand, and the moon shone full and cloudless, when the heads of the three columns reached their several destinations of attack. Immediately on gaining the island the advanced guard of the centre column under Captain Monson pushed for the fort, and crossing the river near it, they were only hindered from rushing into the city, by the celerity with which the eastern gate was shut and the bridge drawn up. This party proceeded along the glacis through a long bazaar street, and crossing the island arrived at a fort called Cingul, defended by a work on which two guns were mounted, and here rushing in with the bayonet the fort with its defences became their own.

The second body crossed by the Cavery, and on reaching the opposite bank Colonel Knox, who commanded it, turned to the left in a contrary direction, and reached without any impediment the pettah of Shahir Gangain, which he found abandoned by the enemy. Seven battalions of Europeans, and three of sepoys, passed the river subsequently to these two parties and got possession of the Sultan's garden, of which the gate was forced, and remained here for two hours waiting for orders. The second subdivision of the central column passed to the left for the purpose of breaking through the right of the enemy's army. On approaching the Sultan's redoubt they found themselves opposed by a large body of horse; but these were received by a well delivered volley which sent them scattered over the fields, and the Sultan's redoubt, which was found abandoned, was immediately occupied by a detachment, while the remainder moved on to co-operate with Colonel Maxwell. The rear division of the central column, under the immediate command of Lord Cornwallis, then came up and formed near the Sultan's redoubt.

The left column under Maxwell had ascended the Carigaut Hill near the termination of the bound-hedge: this was defended by a double breastwork in front of a stone redoubt not entirely completed, and a considerable body of infantry without artillery was stationed upon it. The works were forthwith scaled by the flank companies of the 72nd. Passing through the camp Maxwell met the division of the central column above spoken of. A convenient spot was now sought to pass the river, and a small detachment got over at a point where the water was up to their necks, and they were exposed to a heavy fire from the lines and batteries on the island. Here Colonel Knox, who had heard the firing, arrived at the critical moment, and taking the Mysoreans in flank quickly dispersed them, and thus secured the passage of Colonel Maxwell's division at a more practicable spot of the river, and a junction was effected with the central column. The

enemy were too much confounded to defend any thing—lines and batteries were abandoned, and the defenders dispersed in confusion. From one of these terrified fugitives, who was made prisoner, Colonel Knox received information that some Europeans were confined in a house at no great distance. To this happy accident twenty-seven miserable half-starved men who had passed years of captivity in heavy irons owed their immediate release.

That portion of the centre column which had taken post at the Doolnabai, or Sultan's garden, being left without orders, Captain Hunter, the commanding officer, knowing the dawn of morning to be not far distant, and that his post was not tenable, determined to quit the garden, and soon perceived a body of the enemy who he apprehended would open on his party. He accordingly rushed with his men into the river, which he passed under a heavy fire of musketry, attacked the party before they had time to unlimber their guns, and thence made his way to rejoin Lord Cornwallis's column a little before daylight. They had scarcely time to replace their ammunition (their cartridges having been damaged by the water) before a large body of troops forming part of Tippoo's centre and left, having recovered from their panic, advanced to the attack. Lord Cornwallis had only six European and four sepoy companies with him, and he now stood exposed to men who had as yet suffered little, and were well aware of their superiority of numbers. Happily the 52nd regiment, which had become detached in the darkness, came up, attracted by the firing, at the critical moment, driving before them a very superior force from whom they had captured four guns. Lord Cornwallis was, however, in imminent danger; he had expected to meet with General Meadows's column at this point, and he had to encounter an attack vigorously made. It was, however, as bravely resisted. The fire of the enemy was well returned, but when they approached nearer they were met and driven back by the irresistible British bayonet. In these encounters Lord Cornwallis received a slight wound in his left hand. The danger from overwhelming numbers still increased, and his anxiety for the arrival of the expected aid was such, that he exclaimed, "If General Meadows be above ground, this will bring him." General Meadows was above ground, but came not. The right column under General Meadows was to attack the left of the enemy's position. His march led to a more distant point than was intended, and he was consequently later in all his operations. The repetition of the enemy's attacks was continued for nearly two hours, but they were again and again repulsed, till the enemy withdrew across a canal, which it was not judged prudent to pass. Lord Cornwallis then, having thrown a few companies under Captain Sibbald into one of the captured redoubts, drew off to the Pagoda Hill, at the foot of which he was met by General Meadows.

The right column under this General had passed the bound-hedge without opposition at about half-past eleven, later than was intended, as has been related: consequently it was always in the rear of the column that it was intended to precede. The officer who led,

not finding any enemy to encounter, but perceiving on his right a strong redoubt called Ead-Gah, or the Mosque redoubt, proceeded to attack it. The Mysorean garrison, consisting of the flower of Tippoo's infantry, was by this time on the alert, having heard the firing in other quarters, and was prepared for its defence. The grenadiers of the 36th and 76th regiments were, however, thrown forward, and carried the covered way with the bayonet, but in attempting to enter the gorge they were met with such a fire of grape and musketry as compelled them to recoil. Thrice they were driven back, and thrice renewed the attack. The conflict was accordingly severe, and for a long time doubtful, but the post was at length carried; and the General, having secured it with a sufficient force for its defence, changed his route, and making a circuit to avoid some rice grounds, he missed the track of the central column altogether, passing it in the rear, and at length arrived at the Pagoda Hill, where he joined Lord Cornwallis at daybreak.

But where was the Sultan when his camp was attacked and thus traversed by a hostile force? He had just finished his evening meal when the first alarm reached him; but so rapid had been the advance of the central column, that Tippoo had only just time to clear the head of the advancing column, to gain the ford and pass it, making direct for the east gate of the city. It will be recollected that this was said to have been hastily shut when Captain Monson reached it, and it must have almost closed upon the admission of Tippoo Sultan. Thus ended the business of the night.

### 3. ATTACK CONTINUED THE FOLLOWING MORNING.

The morning of the 7th of February found within the pettah of Seringapatam the left column and part of the central column of the British force, all under the command of Colonel Stuart as senior officer, who took advantage of daylight to improve his position and keep open his communication with Lord Cornwallis. It was ascertained that the field-forts covering both flanks of the enemy's position on the island had been entered, but that the assailants shared the possession of it with their enemies, whilst the right, and part of the left, columns were on Carigaut Hill. The redoubts in the centre of the Mysorean camp, however, still held out; and Tippoo was not a man to sit down in despair or waste his time in fruitless exclamations, but he immediately set to work to retrieve the misfortunes of the night. The Sultan's first attempt was to endeavour to regain possession of Laul Baug, at the western extremity of the island, but he found Colonel Stuart too securely posted here to be driven from his position. Abandoning therefore this enterprise, he next despatched a body of troops to retake the redoubt on the northern side of the Cavery, which was called the Sultan's redoubt, where Lord Cornwallis had placed Captain Sibbald with 150 men of the 71st. It stood so exposed to the fire of the place as to be beyond the reach of any defence except that of the brave little garrison by which it was occupied. To defend this redoubt, the first object had been to clear the gorge, which had been open towards the fort; this it was endeav-

voured to do by throwing across some broken litters and the carriage of a gun as an expedient to shut it up. This was soon perceived from the town, and guns immediately opened, by which means this inefficient barricade was soon shattered into splinters, and considerable injury was done also to the works by this fire. The gorge being thus opened, the enemy about ten o'clock pushed forward repeated columns, in hopes of carrying the redoubt by assault. They were beaten back with considerable force, but in the encounter Captain Sibbald was killed by a cannon-shot. Major Skelly, one of Lord Cornwallis's aide-de-camps, had been despatched to the spot, and now took the command, with Captain Hunter of the 52nd under him. Fresh troops of the enemy were now seen to be advancing, and but little hope could be entertained of opposing them from the deficiency of cartridges, which at the moment became apparent. At this critical juncture it appeared almost a miracle to hear that two bullocks, supposed to be part of those appointed for the carriage of spare ammunition, had wandered into the ditch, and were found to be laden with ammunition, a burden more precious to Major Skelly and his party at such a moment, than if they had been loaded with the richest jewels in Tippoo's treasury. The day grew extremely hot, and not a drop of water could be procured in the redoubt for those who were already down with wounds and dying from thirst. Scarcely, however, had the men replenished their cartridge-boxes from this unexpected supply, when the enemy were again upon them. The Sultan, mortified by the ill success of former attacks, sent forward about one o'clock a body of cavalry 2000 strong, who appeared as if they intended to charge at once into the gorge, but they stopped suddenly, and dismounting, rushed impetuously forward on foot to force an entrance with their sabres. The gorge had been kept clear during the continuance of the cannonade; but when it ceased, in order to admit of this advance, the garrison rapidly formed across the opening, whilst the portions of the parapet on either side were fully manned. The fire was coolly reserved till it could be given with effect, but the first discharge brought the leaders of the column completely down: those behind nevertheless pushed onward, but the rapid steady fire of the garrison threw them into hopeless confusion, and they fled back to recover their horses, and soon disappeared altogether. After the repose of about an hour the little garrison was threatened by another attack far more severe than any they had already sustained: it was led by the Sultan's European corps, commanded by M. Vigie. The uniform of this corps was red, and to this circumstance M. Vigie had owed his escape in the attack of the night, as he had ridden quietly through one of the columns, no one interrupting him. M. Vigie and his men were now seen in their true value by daylight; but the expected superiority of this corps to the native troops was not realized. They advanced but a little way from the rocks, when two or three of the foremost falling, they got into great disorder, and went off.

The attack on this redoubt was not the only effort made by Tippoo

on the 7th to retrieve the losses sustained during the preceding night. Twice was Colonel Stuart's line across the eastern neck of the island assailed, and twice were the enemy repulsed with loss. They were kept, however, in a state of some anxiety by the report that the whole force of the garrison would be employed in the night in a fresh assault; but after all their efforts had proved ineffectual to drive the English out of the island, the spirit of the Mysoreans was quite broken, and they deserted in great numbers, accompanied by the French in Tippoo's service, who, wearied with his capricious temper, or giving every thing up for lost, went and surrendered themselves to Lord Cornwallis; so that the night was passed in quiet, and the morrow brought with it no symptoms of renewed danger. The British camp was thereupon advanced to the bound-hedge, pickets were sent into the deserted redoubts, and a chain of posts established along the north and east faces of the fort, converting the enemy's lines of countervallation into lines for the attack of his capital. The loss in these actions did not amount to more than 535 men killed and wounded.

#### 4. SERINGAPATAM BESIEGED IN FORM.

So far every thing had succeeded according to the Commander-in-Chief's wish; but he relaxed not one moment in his exertions to push the siege. General Abercrombie, who had been prevented from taking up the ground allotted to him by the absence of the Hyderabad and Mahratta contingents, was on the 11th of February directed to move to the north of the Caverry and unite with the division from headquarters. As soon as he perceived this movement on the 16th, Tippoo endeavoured to intercept the baggage of the Bombay corps, but without success; and the whole British army became united. Throughout the 8th of February, while the British had been actively engaged in preparations for the meditated blow against the citadel, no symptom of energy had been apparent except the wasting of a large quantity of ammunition in a fruitless cannonade. The engineers, requiring materials for making fascines and gabions, had begun to cut down the magnificent trees which formed the pleasant shades of the *Laul Baug*; and the palace and cloisters of this delicious retreat were converted into workshops and hospitals. The Sultan's proud mind was irritated at seeing this charming spot laid waste, and the tomb of his father profaned, and he began seriously to reflect on his perilous situation. The wily Oriental soon perceived that the siege was commenced in earnest, and, in order to avert the catastrophe, he thought he would again try negotiations. Something, he hoped, might be expected from the policy as well as the generosity of the English. No intercourse of a pacific character had taken place for the last month, when his overtures had been indignantly rejected, on the ground that the prisoners taken at Coimbatore were unjustly detained in breach of the capitulation. Tippoo, therefore, determined now to employ two of those officers, Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, to take charge of the letters making overtures of peace. The charge was accompanied by a costly present and by confident

Chalmers undertook to gratify the Sultan by the delivery of his letters.

Coincident with the pacific mission of Lieutenant Chalmers, Tippoo prepared another of a very different character, the object of which was the death of the British Commander-in-Chief. The very day on which the officers were released a select body of horse were observed to quit their encampment on the southern side of the Cavery, and to cross the river at Arikery: no particular notice was at the time taken of this movement. On the morning of the following day they contrived to get between the camps of the Nizam's and the British forces, not quite unobserved, but without exciting suspicion, being mistaken for a party of friends, and they were therefore allowed without interruption to advance to the British park of artillery. Arrived there, they carelessly asked for the tent of the Barra Sahib, or principal commander. Their inquiry was supposed to apply to the tent of Colonel Duff, the commandant of artillery, which was shown them. Instantly drawing their swords, they galloped towards the tent, which they supposed to be that of Lord Cornwallis, cutting down the few persons they met in their way; but on the alarm that this occasioned a small body of sepoy's turned out, whose fire soon changed the course of the horsemen, and sent them with headlong speed back to the hills in flight.

On the night of the 18th a formidable battery was erected on the north side of the fort; and on the 19th Abercrombie again crossed the Cavery, and took post on the south-west side. On the 22nd his advanced posts were here attacked, but after a contest, which lasted the greater part of the day, the Mysore troops were driven back. On the 23rd every thing was prepared for erecting breaching-batteries within 500 yards, and it was known that Purseram Bhow with his Mahrattas was coming up to assist in the operations of the siege. The Vakeels of Tippoo were in the camp, and the process of negotiation and the siege went on together.

Notwithstanding that the side towards the island was at first selected as the point of the main attack, this idea was changed, and it was resolved to make the principal attack across the river, against the north side of the fort. Here the curtain-wall was perceptibly weak, and by coming close up to the bank of the river, there was left no room for outworks. The flank defences were accordingly few and of little value. The main difficulty was the intervention of the river, but this was not thought sufficient to counterbalance the advantages of the new plan. As the erection of batteries in the daytime, within gunshot of the fort, appeared to be hazardous, Lord Cornwallis resolved to have them erected during the night; and to draw off the attention of the garrison from that quarter, he resolved to beat up the enemy's camp on the other side of the island. Abercrombie was therefore, as has been said, pushed across to the southern bank of the Cavery, and arrived at the place of his destination undiscovered. At the break of day the whole design became manifest to the enemy, and every gun that could be brought to bear was opened on the newly-erected works, and parties of infantry were

crossed to harass the troops; but the dawn of light saw Abercrombie in full possession on that side, and nothing could exceed the surprise of Tippoo when the whole proceeding became intelligible. The works constructed by the British now advanced with great rapidity and great secrecy; and the Sultan, despairing of repelling the invaders by the fire of the fort, attempted to distress them by turning away the water from a large canal by which the English camp was principally supplied. The distress occasioned by this measure was, however, but of short duration, for a detachment was immediately despatched to investigate the cause of the sudden failure of the waters, who soon drove the Mysorean troops from their work, and repaired the small damage done to the bank of the canal.

5. TIPPOO SULTAN SUBMITS AND DELIVERS UP HIS TWO SONS AS HOSTAGES FOR A TREATY.

A second parallel had been completed within 600 yards of the north side of the fort, when, on the 24th of February, orders were sent to the trenches that the working should be discontinued, and all hostile demonstrations cease. It was not without difficulty that the men could be restrained from proceeding with the works, which they had anticipated were to put them in possession of Seringapatam, and enable them to effect the humiliation of a man whose insolence, tyranny, and perfidy had been exercised over many of their friends and companions who had fallen under Tippoo's power. But discipline prevailed, and all hostile operations on the side of the besiegers ceased at once. Not such was the conduct of the garrison. For several hours the fire of cannon from the fort, and of musketry from the advanced parties of the enemy, was kept up more vigorously than before, and a British officer and several men were wounded in consequence of this audacious contempt of the engagement which had been concluded, and which had been the cause of the cessation of hostilities on the part of the British. Even after Lord Cornwallis's reiterated messages had at length produced their effect, Tippoo, it was said, ordered the guns which had been removed from the batteries to be again replaced, before he could bring himself to sign the terms agreed upon by his Vakeels. These terms were severe:—1st. That he should cede one-half of his dominions; 2nd. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees to the allied forces for the expenses of the war; 3rd. That he should unequivocally restore all prisoners who had been taken from the time of Hyder Ali; and, lastly, That two of his eldest sons should be delivered up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. As this treaty was bitter in the extreme to the Sultan, it was not to be supposed that he would submit to it with a good grace: it was soon observed that he was procrastinating, nor would he send his sons at once, but sought every subterfuge by which he might evade the signature of the truce which he knew he must obtain.

On the 26th of February the hostage princes were received in the British camp in very great state. They were dressed in long white muslin gowns and red turbans, with rows of large pearls round their

necks, from which were suspended a ruby and an emerald of considerable size, surrounded by brilliants, and in their turbans each wore a sprig of rich pearls: they were each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, accompanied by several other elephants, preceded by a number of persons mounted on camels bearing flags, with 100 running footmen carrying polished javelins, and a guard well dressed and disciplined; with some cavalry bringing up the rear. It astonished all present to witness the correctness and propriety of the behaviour of these young princes. Tippoo's head Vakeel placed them in Lord Cornwallis's hands, saying, "These children were this morning the sons of the Sultan, my master: their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your Lordship as their father." Every one knows the picture recording this ceremony, and of which the engraving is in every country of the world. Notwithstanding this step in the negotiations, the pride of the Sultan still kept him back from the complete fulfilment of the treaty, and as Lord Cornwallis resolved to be no longer trifled with, orders were issued for the renewal of the siege. Prudence, and a sense of the hopelessness of resistance, overcame at length the feelings of the fallen chief, and he submitted to necessity, and affixed his seal and signature to the definitive treaty, which was sent to the young princes to be by them given to the Commander-in-Chief.

The war with Tippoo was the great event of Lord Cornwallis's administration. He returned to Madras late in May, and to Calcutta in July following, and quitted India in August, 1793. The definitive treaty was concluded on the 19th of March, and the ceded territories were shared in equal proportions by the British East India Company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

#### 6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY.

On the 24th of May this year died George Lord Rodney. He was born in the year 1718. Of his family nothing certain is known. His father was a naval officer commanding the King's yacht, and in one of his passages to or from Hanover he was induced to regard the Duke of Chandos, who was in attendance on his Majesty, as a patron, and named his son "Bridges," after his family. Of young Rodney's early exertions in the service there is no record until 1747, in which year he commanded the "Eagle," under Hawke, when that Admiral defeated L'Etendière's squadron. In 1751 he was employed, with the rank of Commodore, on a voyage of maritime discovery, and in 1759 was promoted to the rank of Admiral. His first occupation as flag-officer was in command of a small squadron of ships of war and bomb-vessels the same year, on an expedition to bombard the town and port of Havre de Grace; and he so effectually destroyed the enemy's preparations in that port, that as a naval arsenal it was not able during the remainder of the war to annoy Great Britain. In 1761 Rodney was very instrumental in the capture of the islands of St. Pierre, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, when the whole of the Caribbean group came under submission to the English. For his skill and bravery in this war, he was at the



conclusion of it, in 1764, raised to the dignity of a Baronet. In 1768 he was induced to contest Northampton at the general election, and was returned after a strong and very expensive contest, by which he very considerably impaired his fortune, and was consequently obliged to fly his country and retire to France, where he lived for some years in the greatest obscurity in the hope of retrieving his losses. He was still there in 1778 when the war broke out between France and England. It is said that the French King wishing to take advantage of his pecuniary embarrassments, made him the most unbounded offers through the Duke de Biron. In reply to this proposal he said, "My distresses, sir, it is true, have driven me from the bosom of my country; but no temptation can estrange me from her service. Had this offer been voluntary on your part I should have deemed it an insult, but I am glad to learn it proceeds from a source that can do no wrong." The Duke was so struck with the patriotism of the Admiral, that he conceived a great respect for him, and offered him a loan of money to enable him to revisit England and solicit a command. This offer he gratefully accepted, and afterwards very honourably repaid. About this time he met somewhere the Duke d'Orleans, then Duke de Chartres, who told Sir George that he was to have a command in the fleet which was to be opposed to the British, under the command of Keppel, and insultingly asked him what he thought would be the consequence of their meeting. "That my countryman will carry your highness with him to learn English," was the high-spirited reply. When the mutual recriminations of Admiral Keppel and Palliser rendered it desirable to put aside both those officers, Sir George Rodney was appointed to the chief command in the West Indies, and he hoisted his flag on board the "Sandwich," in 1779. His first exploit was in January, 1780, when he took nineteen Spanish transports bound to Cadiz, with their convoy, a 64, and five frigates. On the 16th of the same month Sir George fell in with a Spanish fleet of eleven sail of the line, under Don Juan de Langara, of which he captured the flag-ship and five other ships of 70 guns each, and another of the same force was blown up. In April, the same year, he encountered the French fleet at Martinique, under the command of De Guichén, whom he obliged to fight, and completely routed him, but took none of the ships. In reward for his services he was on the 14th of November made an extra Knight of the Bath, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with the freedom of the city of London and other places in gold boxes. In 1781 he exerted himself to bring the combined French and Spanish fleets in the West Indies to some decisive engagement, but without success. On the breaking out of the war with Holland he captured the island of St. Eustatia, and the Dutch colonies on the mainland of Guiana, and for these successes Parliament settled liberal annuities on himself and his family; but he was obliged to resign his command of the fleet and repair to England, to answer some grave charges made against his conduct, which he was enabled to refute in every particular. He was therefore re-appointed to the West India command, and on the 12th of April, 1782, had the

good fortune to come to close action with the French fleet under Count de Grasse, when he sunk one line of battle ship, and captured five, taking the French Admiral prisoner. This signal success was said to have been principally owing to a skilful manœuvre, till that time nearly new in practice, but the adoption of which forms an era in our naval history. This was to break the enemy's line and attack to leeward. An animated controversy has sprung up of late years, tending to derogate from the honour of Rodney by giving to others the credit of having originated this manœuvre. Had this great Admiral been a weak or foolish commander, his having obtained one success might have been fortuitous; but such a man as Lord Rodney (who was created a peer for his last action) has the concurrent testimony of a long and successful career, to make it evident that whoever may have suggested the idea, it was he who had the skill and boldness to take the responsibility of its adoption, and to him, therefore, every tittle of the credit is most justly due. It is said of the noble Admiral by a contemporary, that as an officer of nautical abilities none were his superiors, and but few his equals. He certainly possessed the merit of indefatigable exertion, and was endowed with a bold and original genius which always carried him directly to the object he had in view. No commander, except Nelson, ever lived who had the good fortune to achieve so many notable services. Three Admirals (the Spanish Don Juan de Langara, the Dutch Van Binkes, and the French Count de Grasse) delivered their swords to him; and eighteen ships of the line, and nearly as many frigates and vessels of inferior consequence, lowered their colours to the fleet under his immediate command.

#### 7. MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL DE SUFFREN.

About this time died a French Admiral who, though possessing great merit, was yet estimated by his countrymen somewhat above his real deserts. Pierre de Suffren was a native of Provence, and born in 1726. At the age of seventeen he entered the French navy as garde-marine on board the "Solide," forming part of the then recently allied French and Spanish squadron. His first action was with the British ship "Northumberland." In the action at Belleisle with Admiral Hawke he was taken prisoner on board the "Monarque," and carried to England, but was released at the peace of 1748. He occupied himself in the interval before a new war in passing his terms for the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which he became a Knight. In 1755 the Chevalier de Suffren was on board the "Dauphin-Royal," in the expedition sent out for the protection of Canada. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant de vaisseau on board the "Orphée," forming part of a squadron under the Marquis de la Glissonière, sent to assist at the siege of Port Mahon. In 1750 he was again taken prisoner by the English in the "Ocean." In the peace of 1763 he was released and returned to France, where in 1767 he was promoted to be Capitaine de frégate. After passing some time at Malta, where he became Commander of the Order, and made expeditions against the Barbary

powers, he was called into service as *Capitaine de vaisseau*. During the American War, in 1781, he was further promoted to the rank of *Chef d'escadre*, and went in command of a squadron to the Cape of Good Hope, where he saved the colony for the Dutch from the expedition under Commodore Johnstone, though he lost some of his own ships. He thence proceeded to join the fleet under the Count d'Orves at the Isle of France, and on the death of that admiral succeeded to the command of the French fleet in the Indian Ocean. Here he had repeated engagements with the British fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, with no decisive results; but in August, 1782, he succeeded in capturing Trincomalee. These services obtained for him the honour of becoming *Bailli* of the Order of St. John. He continued until the peace of 1783 to keep the sea in defiance of the British, and assisted in preserving the beleaguered fort of Cuddalore. He then returned to France. He had never gained a victory, nor assisted at the capture of a single ship, but he had avoided defeat, and had upheld the honour of his flag in the Indian seas for several years. Accordingly on his return to France he was received with distinguished honours; medals were struck to his fame; and when he went to the palace to pay his court to the King, the whole of the *gardes du corps* stood to their arms on the announcement of his name, and escorted him, four abreast, to the chamber of his sovereign. Here he was met by all the royal family, and received the accolade in presence of the whole court. He was made *Chevalier des Ordres du Roi*, and the dignity of Vice-Admiral was expressly created for him for his life. Admiral de Suffren was in figure a man of singular obesity, but of regular features, and of a noble and gracious expression. Notwithstanding his figure he was active, of an extreme ardour, and brave to rashness. In his profession he was inflexible and severe when he suspected weakness or want of courage; and though affable and gentle in demeanour towards inferiors, no ties of friendship or influence of rank could lessen his displeasure against defect of discipline or valour. He was himself a man of much elevation of character and extensive information, which was combined with cool judgment and a lively conversation. He was a very experienced officer, and in his continual contests with Sir Edward Hughes he evinced great professional ability and a superior knowledge of naval tactics.

#### 8. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GUSTAVUS III. OF SWEDEN.

So long as daring and resolution shall be regarded as qualities honourable in war, so long will the character of Gustavus of Sweden deserve to be studied. He was the son of King Adolphus Frederick by the sister of the great Frederick; was born in 1746, and succeeded to the throne in 1771. Gustavus, observing the increasing influence of Russia in the Swedish senate and the party dissensions in his country, resolved to avail himself of these circumstances to bring about a popular revolution: accordingly, within the short space of a single hour he performed the extraordinary act of overturning the constitution of his country, without bloodshed, on the 19th

of August, 1772. Thus he at once destroyed the influence of a most powerful aristocracy, which for nearly sixty years had assumed to itself the sole authority of the state. Many wise regulations followed this change of government; and although the nobles continued dissatisfied, Sweden might have been happy and contented under the King's administration, but for the sovereign's reckless extravagance, and the expenses occasioned by his desire to stay the insatiable progress of Russian ambition. To meet these expenses he sometimes had recourse to unconstitutional means; but he well and truly comprehended that Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Poland were all alike deeply interested in forming an arrangement by which a firm barrier might be raised against the domineering views of Russia. In 1788, thinking the war between Russia and the Porte a favourable moment for humbling the former power, he declared war against the Empress Catharine, and equipped a formidable fleet at Carlscrona: unfortunately for him, however, the emissaries of Russia had been beforehand with him in Denmark, and thus he found himself opposed to the united force of the two powers in the Baltic Sea. Lion-hearted like his predecessor Charles, he had more method in his bravery, and more motive and object in his daring. He undertook the command both of his flotillas and armies. With the former, in conjunction with his gallant brother, the Duke of Sudermania, he sought his enemy wherever he was to be found, in the open sea or in port, in a galley or a seventy-four, dashed at him with all his might and main, and never turned his back until the affair was utterly lost or hopeless. It does not appear that he had any nautical skill; he did not, at all events, trouble himself to manœuvre with his opponent, or to take or keep the wind from his adversary, but grappled with him yard-arm to yard-arm, endeavouring by superior vigour to sink him to the bottom of the sea, or blow him out of the water.

On land Gustavus made direct for the Russian capital, and the sound of his cannon was heard in the very palace of the Czarina. But for the disparity of his numbers, and, in some sense, fatigue of victory, he might certainly have reached St. Petersburg; but he was too much out of breath with his first success to follow up the contest, and was therefore soon overwhelmed and driven again on shipboard. But he never quailed before his enemy for an instant on either element. He gained a splendid victory on the 9th of July, 1790, when he completely destroyed the Russian armament; but such is the weight of this wily power, that her enemies are always induced to purchase peace, even in the moments of their greatest success. Catharine knew how to turn aside this doughty champion, and flattered his chivalrous feelings into accepting a peace that might leave all sovereigns leisure to oppose the French Revolution, while she made him believe that he alone was worthy to head that enterprise<sup>1</sup>.

But whilst he undertook the preparations for this distant war his life was cruelly sacrificed by an assassin: the nobles found an

<sup>1</sup> Alison.

opportunity to gratify their long-cherished hatred, and one of them, Ankerstrom, mortally wounded his sovereign at a masked ball on the 16th of March this year. Gustavus possessed very eminent abilities, equal to the performance of the greatest achievements, and a most fascinating manner, with a powerful and persuasive eloquence, from which he derived signal benefit in many of the most trying exigencies of his life. This King cultivated science and the arts, and instituted an academy at Stockholm, to which it is related that he secretly conveyed an eulogy on Torstenson written by himself, which, in ignorance of its illustrious author, obtained the prize.

#### 9. FORMAL DECLARATION OF WAR BY FRANCE AGAINST THE EMPIRE.

On the 1st of March died suddenly, and not without some suspicion of poison, Leopold II., Emperor of Germany, at the early age of forty-four. His son and successor, Francis II., communicated forthwith to the Prussian court his determination to carry out his father's policy against France, and to adhere to the Convention of Pilnitz. The new Legislative Assembly of France were equally determined on hostilities, and the unfortunate Louis XVI., pressed alike by friends and enemies on every side, formally declared war against the young King of Bohemia and Hungary on the 20th of April, and ordered the formation of four armies. The first, to watch the frontiers from Dunkirk to Philippeville, consisted of about 50,000 men, and was placed under the command of Marshal Rochambeau. The second, of about the same strength, was to carry on the defence of the frontier to the Lauter, and was placed under General Lafayette. The third was commanded by Marshal Luckner, and was to defend France on the side of the Rhine with about 40,000. The fourth, 50,000 strong, under General Montesquieu, was to observe the passes of the Alps on the side of Piedmont. These armies were more imposing on paper than in reality; they had many garrisons to supply, which detracted from their supposed strength, and they were all infected with the principles of the Paris factions, which deteriorated their discipline and their organization.

#### 10. WAR COMMENCED ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF FRANCE.

On the 29th of April the French troops were set in motion to invade Belgium in four columns; three of which were under Rochambeau in chief, and the fourth under Lafayette. The first of these, commanded by M. Biron, broke up from the camp at Famars, near Valenciennes, with six battalions and as many squadrons, and suddenly found themselves in presence of a small body of Austrians, under Count Beaulieu. A sudden panic seized the French troops, who took to flight, crying out, "Nous sommes trahis!" The next morning Beaulieu encountered some of the fugitives behind the Ronelle and dispersed them. Satisfied with the capture of four guns and about 100 prisoners, the Count returned to his old position. The second column, under Theobald Dillon, met with a similar result. They quitted Lille on the morning of the 29th, and met the Austrian General d'Happancourt near Lamain with 3000 men, who immediately attacked the French division; astonished at such an encounter.

rence, the soldiers turned, and shouted, "A la trahison !" and Dillon ordered them to retreat, which they did in good order: but at the sound of the cannon behind them they set off pell-mell, and fled towards Lille, Dillon endeavouring in vain to stop them; but as soon as they reached the fortress they revenged themselves for their disgrace on their unfortunate General, whom they murdered on pretence of treason. Lafayette was in full march on Namur when he heard of these disasters, on which he hastily returned his divisions to his camp at Rancennes. The French government now ordered Marshal Lückner to quit his army on the Rhine and replace Rochambeau in the command of that of the north.

Marshal Lückner, a veteran of seventy years, took the command of his new division near Lille in the first days of June, and prepared to advance on Courtray, while Lafayette approached his army to Maubeuge in support; but this latter was here attacked on the 10th of June by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen with 12,000 men. General Gourow, who commanded the advanced guard, was killed at Gliscelle, about a league from Maubeuge. Lafayette coming up with a reinforcement, the Austrians retired on Mons. On the 18th Lückner summoned Courtray, which was garrisoned by only 1200 men under Colonel Mylius. This little force bravely resisted the whole array of 10,000 men sent against them, and opened a heavy fire upon the enemy, under which the gallant old Marshal led in person his young troops, saying, "Laissez, mes amis, les balles respectent les braves." Although for the moment he got possession of the place, he was obliged to evacuate it again on the 30th.

The whole country between Launcy, Bruges, and Brussels was now overrun by the French, and hopes were confidently entertained that the people in these districts might be induced to join the revolutionary cause, which however they did not do in any great numbers. Lafayette exerted himself greatly in this war of proclamations; established a Belgian congress with some fugitive malcontents, and began the work of dispersing defiances united with menaces and cajoleries with a view of unsettling the lower classes of the Belgian people. But this weak and vain leader, mistaking alike the temper of his revolutionary party and his own influence over them, now unadvisedly quitted his command and repaired to Paris, where he presented himself before the Assembly to demand the dissolution of the clubs; he was summarily ordered back to the army, denounced by Dumouriez, and at length compelled to fly for safety to the Austrian lines. Indeed he only escaped the guillotine by imprisonment in an Austrian dungeon. The Imperialists now assumed the offensive. On the night of the 13th of July 5000 Austrians, commanded by Count de la Tour, marched against Orchies, where Desmarests was governor with 600 men. The attack commenced at two in the morning, and by daylight the Austrians were in possession of the place.

#### 11. THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK ISSUES A PROCLAMATION AND CROSSES THE RHINE.

- On the last days of July two declarations, drawn up, it is said, by

the ex-minister Calonne in a style of haughty and sanguinary menace, were published under the authority of the Austrian and Prussian sovereigns by the Duke of Brunswick, the Generalissimo of the alliance. These proclamations openly espoused the cause of the King against his people, and announced that the allies were about to cross the Rhine to arrest the progress of anarchy in France and to restore the legitimate authority of the monarch in his kingdom, but in the name of the allied sovereigns the Generalissimo abjured every view of hostile aggrandizement. These proclamations had quite a contrary effect to that which they were intended to produce. They confirmed and increased the influence of the Jacobinical leaders, and the dethronement of the King began henceforward to be openly spoken of. On the 3rd of August, Petion, the late Mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Assembly to demand the deposition of Louis. On the 8th the irritation in the capital, occasioned by these proceedings, had already attained a great height. On the 10th numerous bands of armed men, provided with artillery, marched to the Tuilleries, and forcing the gates, overwhelmed the guards and rushed in. The King with all his family, in fear of their lives, took shelter in the hall of the Assembly, which was at the time sitting. During the course of the horrid massacre that ensued three decrees were passed declaring the executive power of the Crown suspended. Their majesties were forthwith transmitted to the prison of the Temple, and there placed under strict confinement. The constitution was thus effectually overthrown. Dumouriez, who had been the King's War Minister, and other generals with him, submitted to the new government, and the former was appointed to the command of the army of the North.

The allied armies crossed the Rhine near Coblenz in three columns under the Prince of Hohenlohe on the 1st of August. On the 3rd the King of Prussia reviewed the whole force, to which were united 12,000 French emigrants under the immediate command of their Royal Highnesses the Counts de Provence and d'Artois, brothers of the French King, but being in reality under the orders of the Prince of Condé and Marshals de Broglie and Castries. This corps was a brilliant reunion of the old soldiers and gay courtiers of the French monarchy. The infantry was composed of the nobility and gentry of France, but there was with them one battalion of the old Irish brigade; the cavalry was entirely composed of young cavaliers, serving in the ranks from an enthusiasm to the Royal cause; the whole was admirably adapted for a *réserve d'élite*, but it was never an element of strength in the campaign. The German policy was to distrust any aid of this kind, and as much as possible to dispense with their assistance: instead of forming them into one single mass round which others might rally, they decided that these emigrants should be divided into small divisions, and in this manner attached to the several corps that composed the grand army.

The Prince of Hohenlohe, with 18,000 Austrians, after passing the Rhine, proceeded slowly and with some apparent timidity, although France was thought a certain conquest, from the knowledge already

obtained of the inferiority in discipline and equipment of the new levies, and from the intestine disorders of the kingdom. It was not till the 5th that the allies crossed the Moselle, but on the 6th they encamped near Kona, where they remained till the 12th. At length, on the 19th, after having marched forty leagues in twenty days, they crossed the French frontier and encamped at Tiecerlet, where they united themselves with General Clairfait's corps of 18,000 men, who joined them out of Flanders. At the first intimation of this movement of the German armies, 15,000 men were ordered to be assembled behind the Lauter, under Custine, who was directed to garrison Landau. The Prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, in ignorance of these measures, invested the fortress on the 10th. Another detachment of the allies advanced from Coblenz, intending to penetrate the frontier by crossing the Sarre between Thionville and Longwy. Here Kellermann was posted. At Fontoy, Després-Crassier with 4000 men found himself attacked on the 19th by 22,000 Austrians, and fell back on the approach of the enemy. On the 20th the allies invested Longwy under the immediate supervision of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick. This place was garrisoned by 1800 men under Lavesque, but made no resistance, for it surrendered after a mere bombardment on the 24th. The allied armies, however, on their side were determined not to hurry themselves, so they waited patiently till the 28th, and then slowly advanced to Verdun, which place was invested and summoned on the 31st; a heavy bombardment was opened on the town where Colonel Beaurepaire commanded with 3500 men; the inhabitants, alarmed for their property, insisted on his capitulating, which having vainly opposed, he in despair blew his brains out in the council chamber, where he was discussing the question. On the 2nd of September both the town and citadel surrendered.

The approach of the allies into France determined a new course of action on the part of the republicans, and the provisional government that was now established at once ordered a defensive system to be every where adopted for the protection of the frontiers. Marshal Lückner therefore withdrew his troops from Courtray within the French frontier; and Dumouriez established a camp on the Maulde, where he began to discipline his troops by frequent practice, in order to form the germ of a good army.

## 12. RELATIVE FORCES ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER OF FRANCE.

On the 1st of September both armies were thus situated: that of the allies under the Duke of Saxe-Teschen covered the Netherlands; Clairfait was advanced to Stenay, on the Meuse; head-quarters were at Verdun, on the same river, with 80,000 Prussians and other Germans; while in a second line the Hessians were at Longwy, and the Austrians were investing Thionville; the emigrants' force were at Remich. On the side of the French armies Dumouriez at Sedan commanding in chief threatened the Belgian frontiers with 30,000 men. General Kellermann was separated from him by the Prussian advance, but was near Metz with 20,000, Custine was at Weissenbourg with 15,000, while Biron was in Alsace with 30,000. The road appeared clearly



open from Verdun to Paris, and the King of Prussia resolved to advance on the 3rd of September; but the forest of Argonne, between the Meuse and the Arthe, had to be passed, and Dumouriez concerted with Kellermann to unite their forces at Grand Pré, in order to defend this approach. The Prussian advance to Varennes and Landres turned the French, and checked Dumouriez, who, nevertheless, still occupied the pass of the Islettes. Kellermann quitted Metz on the 4th, and marching by Ligny, twenty-five leagues, threw a bridge over the Marne at Vitry on the 14th; at the same moment Dumouriez had taken up his position at St. Meneshould, in a great strait; for he felt that if he quitted it he left open the chaussée by Chalons, the high road to Paris. He sent therefore to hasten Kellermann to march and to call in Beurnonville, and he commanded Dillon to hold to the last extremity the Islettes and Passavant, at the extremity of the Argonne, against the attacks of the Prussians. In such a position he was able to stop the enemy and wait for the reinforcements that were hastening up to him. The French General likened his post at St. Meneshould, on the confines of the Argonne, to another Thermopylæ; "though," he said, "I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas." Thus affairs stood on the 17th. On the other side the Duke of Brunswick, irresolute and procrastinating, had not passed Clermont. He appeared unequal to avail himself of the advantages he had already gained by turning the left of the republicans, while the French generals profited by his extraordinary delays to recover themselves from the jeopardy in which they would have been placed had the Argonne been passed. Dumouriez had only 25,000 men with him, of which 6000 were cavalry; but Kellermann was at Vitry, and Beurnonville at Chalons. Had the Prussians thrown themselves between these corps with their vast and disciplined force, it had been all up with the French. General Clairfait indeed had attacked the French post at Croix-aux-Bois with his advanced guard on the 12th, and had got possession of it and separated General Chazot from Dumouriez. In this encounter Colonel the Prince de Ligne was killed; but the main German army remained inactive at Landres, while the French General-in-Chief seeing the imminence of his situation had now collected his detached corps, who effected their junction with him on the 19th, the one on his left and the other on his right. As soon as the allies observed that Dumouriez had quitted Grand Pré they quitted Landres, and on the 18th, Clairfait and Kalkreuth had been sent across the Aisne, with the view of advancing to turn the French army.

### 18. AFFAIRE OF VALMY.

The King of Prussia was in camp at Massiges, and his Majesty, without concert with the Duke of Brunswick, and deceived as to the intentions of the French General, whom he thought to be in retreat, resolved to attack the forces opposed to him at six o'clock in the morning of the 20th. His advanced guard accordingly marched on the right towards Somme Bionne, under a thick fog that prevented all knowledge of the enemy's position. When it cleared off, at ten o'clock, the French army appeared in position: their right resting on

the river Aisne, and their left on the high road to Chalons. Kellermann occupied Valmy, where there was a mill-hill which he garrisoned with artillery. The advanced guard, under Després-Crassier, was at Hans with eighteen guns. The hostile armies were thus placed in this singular position, that to attack Dumouriez the allies had to turn their back on Paris, while the French General had his rear on the forest of Argonne, and his face towards the capital. The Prince of Hohenlohe, who had taken Vienne le Chateau, was ordered to turn his back on the Bionne, and to attack the enemy at Hans, under Després-Crassier. Kellermann, finding his advanced guard *aux prises*, sent forward General Valemer with his reserve, who checked the pursuit, and he now established all his troops in a single line on the height of Gizaucourt. The Prussians formed up opposite them behind the Cabaret de la Lune, completely deceived by Kellermann's manœuvre as to the strength of the enemy in their front. The collected cannonade now began on both sides with spirit, under which some tumbrils exploded near Valmy, making some havoc and creating great alarm and confusion among the French troops, who were shaken by the fire. Kellermann, in seeking to re-establish the line, had his horse killed by a cannon-shot, and two of his staff were struck down at his side. It was eleven o'clock before the line was again established. The Duke of Brunswick had by this time come up to endeavour to persuade the King not to give battle; but his Majesty had already ordered his army to advance to the attack of the mill and hill of Valmy in three columns, which now moved forward under a heavy fire of artillery. Kellermann formed his little army in columns of battalions to receive the enemy, and encouraged his men by a few stirring words to stand steady and await the attack; but as soon as the Prussians topped the hill, he himself led forward his troops and charged them with the bayonet with great resolution, amid repeated cries of "Vive la Nation." The Prussians stopped, hesitated, and turned; and as they went down the hill Kellermann poured upon them an incessant fire from every gun he had placed there. During this time General Clairfait had crossed the Bionne at Hans to attack Kellermann's right, commanded by Stengel, but this general was immediately reinforced by 4000 men from Beurnonville's corps, who prevented all further advance on that side. About four o'clock another attack was made on the hill of Valmy with the same results. The allied troops returned to their positions, and about seven in the evening the combat ceased. The French lost about 700 or 800 men killed and wounded, and the allies probably more. But though both armies retained their former positions, the French held the field of battle. The almost insignificant success of this day produced on the French troops and throughout France the effect of a complete victory, the remembrance of which remains to this day with the family of Kellermann, who was subsequently ennobled by Napoleon with the title of Duke of Valmy.

#### 14. THE ALLIED ARMIES REPASS THE MEUSE.

Nor were the consequences of this victory unimportant. An inde-

cisive action proved to be equal to a defeat; for, in proportion as it exalted the ardour of the French, it depressed that of the Germans. Their enemy was no longer to be despised: he had steadily held his ground, not flinching either at the heavy fire of the artillery, nor at the presence of an assailant on the top of their position. The invaders were unprovided with stores and provisions; continued rains had destroyed the communications; for four days the troops had no other nourishment than boiled corn, which had already produced dysentery and diseases that had made extensive ravages amongst them, no less than 400 having been lost to single regiments. The Duke of Brunswick accordingly endeavoured to save the monarchy and the life of the King by negotiations; and on the 22nd of September he sent in two colonels to Dumouriez with propositions. These were referred to Paris; but it was replied that the Republic had been proclaimed, and that no terms could now be listened to while the allies occupied the French territory. In this conjuncture some supplies arrived on the 26th, and the King of Prussia took advantage of the circumstance to urge on the Duke to attack again; but the latter, reflecting on the influence of the victory of Valmy to the French, and the danger to the allies if they should be unable to repass the defiles of the forest of Argonne, determined on a retreat; and on the 30th the Prussians broke up from Hans and Dammartin on the Bionne, and repassed Grand Pré on the 2nd and 3rd of October, while the Austrians also retired from Clermont and Varennes. General Dumouriez, notwithstanding the success of the day, was uneasy in his position, and at nine o'clock in the night Kellermann marched by his left, to concentrate his forces between Dampreire and Voilemont. His communications with both Vitry and Bar enabled him to procure supplies. He received from Paris the most urgent remonstrances to retire behind the Meuse, and place that position in security, to cover the road to the capital. But he replied with firmness, that he was better situated where he was, to act against the enemy under every contingency. From some cause or other, he did not afterwards make that vigorous pursuit of the allied armies that might have been expected. As soon as Dumouriez was apprised of their retreat, he took some measures, it is true, to disturb them. The detachment at Sedan, under Miaczinsky, being ordered to intercept the emigrant corps d'armée, came up with them at the village of Seye, and opening some guns upon them, created an alarm that hastened their retreat; the Princes lost their baggage, and were *quittes pour la peur*. The whole allied army safely crossed the Meuse, and established themselves behind Longwy on the 21st, while Dumouriez set out for the capital, to enjoy his triumph and make new arrangements for the invasion of Belgium.

While the allied armies entered Champagne, Custine was not idle on the side of the Rhine. Hearing that Count d'Erbach had marched from his post on the 11th of September, leaving the magazines at Spire to a weak detachment under Colonel Winchelman, he immediately moved against him on the 30th, and forced him not only to escape across the Rhine, but failing that, to lay down his arms and 2700 men. He then took possession of Worms and Frankenthal.

Active and ambitious, Custine would not limit his successes to such unimportant captures, but resolved to open an intrigue to get possession of the fortress of Mayence, which he effectually did on the 22nd of October, and had he not allowed himself to be called away by the plunder of the free city of Frankfort, he might have got possession also of Coblenz and the fort of Ehrenbreitstein before the allies, who had most unaccountably lingered till the 25th in Luxembourg, could have returned for the protection of their rear.

The effect of the enthusiasm created by the few words spoken by Kellermann at Valmy, made the first change in the spirit of the republican troops; which from timidity and want of discipline thenceforth carried them forward to victory and glory. About this same period another trifle came in aid of their military success. An officer of artillery named Rouget composed the hymn called the Marseillaise. Apart from all approval of the hymn itself, there is no doubt that its effect on French enthusiasm has been immense. It contributed to excite the animation of the new levies, and kept alive the courage of the old soldiers. Napoleon, even, in 1806, did not think it too small a consideration, to direct, by a general order, that this music should accompany his army to the conquest of Berlin. The tricolor flag was now unfurled, for the first time, in face of the enemy, when the Republic had been declared. Much doubt has arisen as to the selection of the colours of this national flag. It has been said that the red and blue were the colours of Paris, and that white was to mark the intimate union which should subsist between it and the army. Others have said that the first two colours were adopted in compliment to *Egalité*, and were the Orleans livery. I suspect the more reasonable interpretation to be, that red, blue, and white having been the component colours of Great Britain, the Dutch Provinces, and the United States Republic, were regarded as the flag of liberty elsewhere, and thence adopted by the French.

#### 15. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.

It is not to be expected that prudence should ever be found in democratic assemblies, but often the arrogance of their pretensions, and the indiscreet boldness of their agents, carry out successfully the most imprudent designs<sup>1</sup>. Just at the moment when the confederate armies had captured Verdun, and could have readily marched, with an enterprising spirit, to Paris itself, the idea was propounded and acted upon in France, of seizing the province of Savoy and the county of Nice, and adding them to the Republican territory. In the strategetical views of Gallican policy, these offsets of Italy had been regarded, since the days of Berwick, as more French than Italian. The province of Savoy was at this time occupied by 8000 or 10,000 Sardinian troops under General Lazary, which were dispersed so as to watch the issues by way of Seyssel, Chambery, and Montmelian; and Victor Amadeus had already made himself so ob-

<sup>1</sup> "Quid in rebus maxime prodest? Audacia.—Quid secundum? Audacia.—Quid tertium? Audacia."—*Bacon*.

noxious to the Republic, that it was almost regarded as a prime national virtue to overset his kingdom. General Montesquieu had been sent to the Alpine provinces in May, and by the beginning of September had obtained authority from the government to invade Savoy, at the same time that another force was ordered to operate against Nice, in concert with the National fleet from Toulon. On the night of the 20th and 21st, General Laroche with the advanced guard crossed the frontier towards Fort Barraux, while General Casabianca threatened the road by Mont Cenis. The Piedmontese fell back on their approach, and without stopping to defend the strong position of Montmelian, crossed the Isere, and took post in the mountains at Annecy and Aiguebelle. General Montesquieu contented himself with establishing himself at Chambéry on the 23rd, where, in a very short time, he was superseded by a Jacobin governor.

The French fleet had no apprehensions so long as there was peace with Great Britain, and could render all assistance to any expedition against Nice without any consideration for themselves. Accordingly Admiral Truguet, with nine vessels, having troops on board under General Lahouillère, united to about 8000 men on shore under the orders of General Anselme, appeared on the 28th of September before Nice. The Count de St. Andre, who commanded here, had about 4000 soldiers and as many militia, but 214 guns were said to be mounted on the ramparts of the different places on the left of the Var, and they were all well provisioned. The Admiral having demanded that the French Consul should be sent aboard, the general and governor of the fort took alarm, and immediately withdrew the troops from Nice, and retired to a strong position at Saorgio and Col de Tende, where they effectually barred the road to the Sardinian capital. The most horrible excesses were committed in the captured town, where some 5000 French emigrants had taken refuge, and against whom both the soldiers and sailors showed every species of hostility. Montalbon and Ville Franche (the latter the arsenal of the Sardinian army) were next conquered without resistance. The French squadron then made sail for Genoa, where the Admiral caused the Republic to be acknowledged.

#### 16. WAR ON THE BELGIAN FRONTIER—CANNONADE OF LILLE.

When Dumouriez recalled from the North all the disposable forces to make head against the Duke of Brunswick's invasion, he only left 4000 or 5000 men in the intrenched camp at Maule, and about 4000 cantoned at Bruille, St. Amand, and Orchies, under the command of General Moreton; General Lanoue; a division of 6000 men guarded an intrenched camp at Maubeuge. After the departure of General Clairfait to the Rhine, the Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen had left with him, for the defence of his government, thirty-seven battalions and forty squadrons, after providing fourteen other battalions for the garrisonment of the strong places in the Netherlands. He, therefore, determined by way of diversion in aid of the Prussians to beat up the French quarters; and on the 3rd of September one

column advanced by Beaumont on Philippeville, under General Star-ray, and another under General Beaulieu on Quiévrain, while Latour, who commanded at Tournay, threatened the strong fortress of Lille by advancing his posts on the 5th from the side of the Marque. Moreton immediately withdrew his troops from the camp at Maulde and fell back behind the canal of the Scarpe, whence he hoped to cover the approaches by Marchiennes and Valenciennes. Latour immediately pursued this force, and following a detachment across the Scheldt, came upon them at Mortagne, and put them all to flight. The fugitives threatened Moreton with the same fate as Dillon and Biron, but he saved his life by his address. Proud of this success, the Austrians razed the intrenched camp at Maulde, and now, seeing the consternation their advance had occasioned, determined to get possession of some one of the frontier fortresses. Duke Albert, therefore, fixed his eyes on Lille, for the siege of which preparations were forthwith made. Beaulieu brought up several battalions from Mons, on the 16th, to unite with the Austrian troops at Tournay, whose entire force now consisted of 15,000 men, and about fifty guns. On the 25th of September his Imperial Highness broke up from Tournay, and head-quarters were established at Annapee. The enterprise was hazardous. Lille was one of the strongest of the barrier fortresses, well provisioned and garrisoned with about 3000 regular troops besides militia, and this number was speedily increased to near 10,000, by some reinforcements hastily got together. The place was commanded by General Ruault, a zealous, active and intelligent adherent of the republican party. Duke Albert's force was not sufficient to invest the place, and the amount of battering train was scarcely a third of what the great captains, who had successfully undertaken the siege of Lille in former years, had deemed essential for such an object. Nevertheless, the outposts were driven in on the side of the faubourg de Five on the 24th, and the trenches were opened and continued through the night, so that the first parallel was established across the chaussée to Tournay, the five batteries marked out for thirty pieces of artillery, echeloned at 200 paces from each other. The place was summoned, and replied to, both by General Ruault and the mayor, with proper spirit. Sorties were made every night, but without any success, until the guns opened, on the 29th, with extreme violence. Shot, shell, and red-hot balls poured upon the town, and set fire to it in several places. The guns of the place replied with spirit, and in far greater force than those of the besiegers: in a short time such order was established in the town that the citizens, disciplined and supplied with water and buckets, kept down the flames, though they extended on every side.

The Paris government was not idle: Lieut.-General Dahoux was sent to take the command; troops were directed from every side to reinforce the point attacked, and soon 25,000 men were collected, so that at length the garrison became more numerous than the besieging force. On the 3rd of October the fire of the latter diminished, but the next day the Archduchess Marie-Christine, Go-

verness of the Netherlands, arrived in the Austrian camp, and the event was celebrated with a renewal of the fire; but the ammunition of the besiegers now began to fail, for 60,000 balls are said to have been thrown already into the town. Moreover, at this time Duke Albert heard of the retreat of the allied army after Valmy, and the vastly increasing forces that were assembled before him, and he gave orders on the 6th to withdraw the heavy guns, and on the morning of the 8th the trenches were evacuated. The retreat was made leisurely, and feebly followed up by General Champmorin, but as soon as the enemy was gone, the inhabitants rushed to the Austrian works and tore them down with their hands, enraged at the violence of their bombardment and the ruin it had caused to themselves and their town. The raising of the siege of Lille was received by the nation with enthusiasm, and numbers, fired with indignation at an invasion of France, now rushed from every quarter to join the ranks of the armies of the Republic.

#### 17. BATTLE OF JEMMAPPES.

Dumouriez was still at Paris when these events took place, and saw with delight an army assembled on the Belgian frontier; confident in the speedy retirement of the allied armies from the French territory, he got permission to take the command of an army destined to invade the Austrian Netherlands. He now drew from Champagne every disposable corps, and thus soon amassed an army of from 80,000 to 100,000 men between Namur and Tournay, ready to march forward on Brussels. Duke Albert was now in a great strait. As the French concentrated their forces, it was for his Imperial Highness to consider whether he would attempt to repel the threatened invasion by drawing all his forces together for the defence of the capital (as Wellington afterwards did at Waterloo), or extend his army for the defence of the whole frontier from the Sambre to the North-West. He determined on the latter, and scattered his forces along the entire extent of this vast line. Latour with ten battalions and two squadrons was left to cover Ypres and Flanders as far as Tournay. The Duke of Wirtemberg was at Tournay with nine battalions and ten squadrons; four battalions and seven squadrons were at Bury to keep up the communication with Duke Albert, who was at Mons with eleven battalions and fifteen squadrons; 4000 emigrés were at Namur; and Clairfait from Brunswick's army was expected with 10,000 men to fill up the gap about Charleroi, but only one brigade of it had arrived on the 1st of November.

Dumouriez joined the army on the 20th, and established his head-quarters on the 24th of October at Quiévrain; he saw the opportunity that the dispersion of the Imperialists afforded him of evading their left altogether, and he prepared the means of carrying out a plan with this object. On the 28th he ordered General Benneron with 8000 men to advance by Condé, and threaten the centre of the enemy's line at Ath. Beaurnonville took position with the advanced guard at Quiévrain to keep up the communications, while

Labourdonnaye with 18,000 men threatened Tournay to keep in check Latour's corps. The main army under the General-in-chief with 85,000 men passed the centre to attack the Imperial camp at Mons, while General Valence on the right was to move on Givet, to prevent the junction of Clairfait at Namur, who was also watched by General Harville with 12,000 men between Maubeuge and Charleroi. On the 3rd of November General Beurnonville came in contact with the enemy at the fortified mill of Boussu, and was repulsed in an attack he made upon it; but Dumouriez, who felt all the importance of a first success, brought up General Dampierre with a better disciplined corps, which carried the village of Wasmes at the point of the bayonet, and on the following day the French line was established before Quareignon, Frasneries, and Ciply, resting its right on the road from Mons to Maubeuge. On November the 5th the Duke Albert awaited his adversary in a strongly intrenched position in front of Mons, having his right established at Jemmappes, and his left in front of Cuesmes. This position, naturally good, was also defended by fourteen redoubts, armed with thirty-six guns, and a park of eighteen pieces of great calibre was in reserve. General Beaulieu commanded the left and Clairfait the right; Valence had failed to prevent the arrival of this latter general, which gave to the Austrian army twenty-two battalions at a most important juncture. Quareignon on one flank and Ciply on the other were barricaded and occupied each by a battalion, and the copsewood of Flennu in the centre afforded an abatis for its defence. On the side of the French, the young Duke de Chartres (afterwards King Louis Philippe) commanded in the centre under Dumouriez, General Ferrand commanded on the left, and Beurnonville and Dampierre on the right. The Austrian army was greatly inferior in numbers, and the Duke Albert would gladly now have delayed to check his forces, but Dumouriez left him no choice but to accept a battle or retreat, which last would have inevitably lost the possession of the whole Netherlands.

At eight in the morning of the 6th the cannonade began. General Harville was directed to outflank the enemy between Ciply and Mons, and if he should be forced to retire, he was to endeavour to get possession of the heights of Nimy beyond Mons to cut him off from Brussels. Ferrand was sent forward to carry the village of Quareignon with his left wing, and as soon as he had turned the enemy's right wing, the Duke de Chartres had orders to advance on Jemmappes. Ferrand got possession of Quareignon, and General Rosierre was sent forward with four battalions to the left to aid in attack upon the village of Jemmappes. The General-in-Chief, who had repaired to the centre, awaited till eleven o'clock the result of the two flank movements, neither of which in reality succeeded; for Harville, instead of outflanking the Austrian left, was stopped by the division of Beaulieu at Berthiamont, and nearly outflanked himself, so that he was forced to content himself with a feeble skirmish in the village of Ciply, and Dampierre got entangled with his guns in the marshy ground near Jemmappes. Under these circumstances, Dumouriez, impatient of delay, sent his aide-de-camp Thouvenot to desire Fer-



rand to assault the hill in front of Jemmappes, leaving his guns behind him; this brave old general accordingly led up his troops and carried the position with the bayonet, notwithstanding the fire of the guns, which killed a horse under him and gave him a severe contusion. The General-in-Chief now ordered the wood of Flennu, which covered the slope in the centre of the enemy's position, to be attacked by three columns of battalions of the division of the Duke de Chartres and the two generals Frégéville and Nordman; three of these battalions became separated by a road which mounted this hill, and were attacked by some cavalry and cut to pieces, while eighteen battalions exposed to a cruel fire gave way and fell into confusion. The Duke de Chartres at length succeeded in re-establishing order, and, putting himself at the head of the troops, carried the redoubts with the bayonet, while a brigade of chasseurs and hussars kept the enemy's cavalry in check. Clairfait, whose division was drawn up between Jemmappes and the wood of Flennu, resisted nobly, and the attacking troops suffered considerably. The brigade of Drouet was repulsed and its general killed, but Beurnonville now appeared to threaten the left wing of Clairfait's command, and that general sent forward the dragoons of Coburg, who made a brilliant charge against the battalion of Vivarais, but without success and with great loss.

Dumouriez, after ordering the attack on the centre, repaired to the right, where Beurnonville was already advanced too far, and had become enveloped by six Austrian battalions and exposed to the murderous fire of five redoubts near to Cuesmes. Dampierre had indeed arrived to his assistance, by advancing on the extreme left of the enemy, which released the six battalions, who now obtaining possession of two of the redoubts, turned their guns upon the flying defenders. Clairfait, however, still nobly maintained the defence, until six squadrons of chasseurs, with some battalions of General Dampierre, under the influence of the General-in-Chief, poured down upon the Austrians, and at this moment a cannonade was heard in their rear, and the shot came in on both adversaries (it was believed from General Harville's division in rear of the Austrian left); both sides for a moment hesitated in ignorance of its meaning; but the republicans soon recovered their boldness, and pushed on in their charge, which forced their adversaries to the road to Mons. Beurnonville now sent forward his troops to the attack of the other redoubts, and carried them. At the same time Dumouriez, who had, in ignorance of these successes, gone to the right to bring up reinforcements, was returning with six squadrons, when the Duke de Montpensier, arrived with news of the taking of the village of Jemmappes, and that the battle was won.

The Austrians are said to have lost 5000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, with eight guns. The French lost many distinguished officers; and General Dampierre, to whom the soldiers assigned the chief glory, and the Duke de Chartres, both distinguished themselves. Dumouriez had two horses killed under him. The defeated army retired through Mons, covered by Beurnonville, who crossed the river

Hayne by a bridge of boats, near Nimy : on the 7th they encamped at Soignies, and on the 8th at Tubise. The town of Mons was evacuated without any defence, and Dumouriez established his head-quarters there on the 7th : on the following day Tournay surrendered, but in lieu of pursuing the beaten enemy, the French sat down quietly for five days, to rest after the fatigue of victory, and did not again move forward till the 12th.

#### 18. FRENCH ENTER BRUSSELS—BESIEGE ANTWERP AND NAMUR.

On the 13th the French army came up at Anderlecht with the rearguard of the Austrians, consisting of 6000 cavalry, under the Prince of Wirtemberg. The French advanced guard was so warmly received by them on the 13th, that Dumouriez was forced to bring up a strong reinforcement with artillery, in support ; but the Prince, nevertheless, maintained the combat for six hours, in which the dragoons of Latour and the Hulans greatly distinguished themselves. At length Dumouriez carried the position, with a loss on both sides of about 500 men, and encamped on the field of battle, while the Austrians continued their march through Brussels, and on the 14th the French army entered Brussels, where they were received with enthusiasm.

The Imperialists, persisting in dividing their strength, reinforced the garrison at Malines ; while the right, under Clairfait, extended their flank towards Antwerp, and General Beaulieu on the left was on the Mehaigne to defend the approaches to Namur, with eleven battalions. This line constituted in effect the only one to retire upon, and General Valence was directed to threaten it from Charleroi. To secure this, General Schroeder intrenched himself in a position on both sides of the Meuse near Bois d'Ache, where he was attacked on the 18th ; and after a murderous combat the Austrians withdrew. Labourdonnaye was ordered forward to besiege Antwerp, and when Clairfait discovered that he could not prevent him from doing this if he pleased, he bethought himself too late of his divided forces, and marched to Tirlemont to unite with Beaulieu for the protection of Liege. On the 20th, General Harville, in pursuit, passed the Dyle, at Korbeck, and Clairfait took up a position on the heights of Camptich, where Dumouriez attacked him on the 21st, and drove him back with a loss of 300 men. On the 27th the French army came up with the Austrians under General Starray, at Raccourt, but could make no impression upon him ; and under cover of Starray's resistance, Clairfait, with his whole army, crossed the Meuse at Robermont. Starray gained much honour by his conduct on this occasion, in which he was wounded, but he carried off his division triumphantly to join the army in the camp at La Chartreuse. Valence was now at liberty to make the siege of Namur ; and on the following day the French entered Liege, and were received with acclamations.

The trenches were opened against the citadel of Namur on the 27th of November ; Mottalla with 6000 Imperialists defended it. It was known that the fort of Villatte, which commands the citadel,

was prepared with the means for blowing up the besiegers in case of attack, and now garrisoned with 2300 men. General Leveneur, who carried on the siege under Valence, conceived the bold project of assaulting it by its gorge. Conducted by a deserter to the palisades, at midnight on the 30th, he found it impossible to get over them; but turning to his men, he desired them to take him up and throw him over. Several grenadiers managed to follow their General, and in great silence they made their way to the Commandant, whom they surprised and instantly ordered with a bold front to conduct them to the mines. The Austrian hesitated, but being threatened with instant death, he revealed to Leveneur the matches, which were immediately extinguished and withdrawn, and the fort of Villatte was taken. The fire of the besiegers was increased to cover this gallant attempt, and continued to make so deadly an effect, that on the 2nd of December Moitelle gave up his garrison and himself prisoners.

Labourdonnaye having possessed himself of Malines, where he found considerable depôts, the siege of Antwerp was commenced on the 28th, on which day the Governor was summoned and the citadel and parallels were traced in front of the bastion de Paniotte. The works however not proceeding fast enough to please the General-in-Chief, Labourdonnaye was superseded by General Miranda, a Spaniard; but the fault of the delays lay rather in the deficiency of skilled engineers in the French army under present circumstances to undertake so many sieges at the same time, than in any error of Labourdonnaye. Very soon after the batteries opened they set fire to the barracks, and the Governor gave up the town and retired to the citadel, when the citizens opened their gates to the French. The garrison was 1200 strong, for the most part Walloons, among whom there was so much dissatisfaction that the Commandant, alarmed, capitulated with his citadel on the 30th.

Miranda was now ordered to bring up his corps d'armée to Rube-ronde, on the Lower Meuse, but in the mean while Dumouriez had determined to send the enemy farther from the Meuse, and had manœuvred with this object by sending his right wing forward to Hervé, in order to induce Clairfait to withdraw from Henri-la-Chapelle. On the 6th of December the French attacked Clairfait, who, after some resistance, retired altogether behind the Erft. The French army entered Aix-la-Chapelle on the 8th, and retired into winter-quarters; while they now began to concentrate 60,000 men between the Moselle and the Rhine, to push operations against the Austrians in that direction.

#### 19. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—PRUSSIANS RETAKE FRANKFORT.

Since the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick out of France and across the Rhine, the French armies under Kellermann and Custine remained without any defined plan of operations, but instead of uniting their armies on some given point, the Generals either misunderstood, or were endeavouring to supplant, one another. Kellermann was at length removed to the army of the Alps, and Custine having

possession of Mayence reassembled his forces about the fortress and Frankfort. The Prussian army was collected around Coblenz—General Kalkreuth with eight battalions and twenty squadrons was posted along the Lahn, to observe Custine's movements. Wittenghaf, with a brigade detached from this corps, at Limburg, was on the 9th of November surprised by an attack from General Houchard, with 3000 men, and though he defended the passage of the Lahn bravely, he was driven out of Limburg and across the river; but Houchard, content with the advantage, also quitted the place and marched away to join Custine, at Weilling, so that Limburg again fell into the possession of the allies. The Duke of Brunswick now gave a new organization to the army, and although Custine had received a reinforcement of 12,000 men, under General Van-Heldem, the King of Prussia, seeing himself at the head of 50,000 men, determined to put the French on the defensive and to move on Frankfort. General Kalkreuth appeared before that free city on the 29th of November, where the French had left a garrison of 2500 men, and had retired behind the Nidda. Kalkreuth summoned the Commandant Van-Heldem, who answered according to custom, but found himself without sufficient means to maintain a defence of the place; the citizens of which claimed their rights of neutrality, and the promise of Custine that he would not expose them to a siege. The King of Prussia, informed of these circumstances, resolved to attempt to get possession of the city by a *coup-de-main*. On the 2nd of December, at break of day, the Hessian division were told off for the assault, in four columns, whilst the whole Prussian army remained under arms at Wilbel. The first and second columns had to make so long a detour that the operation was over before they could arrive. However, the third and fourth columns, consisting of ten battalions, got unobserved into the gardens in front of the ramparts, and at once rushed to the gates on the Friedburg and Hanau roads. Van-Heldem collected his weak garrison, with two guns, to oppose their advance; but the citizens stopped the soldiers, impeded their assembling, broke their guns, and opened the gates to the Prussian columns. The French, surprised, lost some 300 killed and wounded, and fled from the town as well as they could. The Hessians lost 170 men, including the Prince of Hesse-Philippstadt and twelve officers. Custine, from his position near Hoechst, learned the state of things in Frankfort, and sent, when it was already too late, General Neuvinge to afford assistance to the garrison; but he met Van-Heldem on the way with a small portion making their escape, 1000 having been left behind as prisoners. The King and the Duke immediately passed through the city after the retreating enemy, and General Kalkreuth with ten squadrons coming up with them at Bockenhein, after some fighting the French were driven across the Nidda, and withdrew to Mayence.

The King observing a French grenadier gallantly contending against great odds, and refusing quarter, called out to him, "Frenchman, you are a brave man; it is pity you do not serve a better cause." The grenadier, unwilling to deny his principles, replied, "Citoyen Guillaume, nous ne serions pas d'accord sur ce chapitre :

parlons d'autre chose." The Prussian soldiers caught the sobriquet of "Citoyen Guillaume," and applied it to their King for many years afterwards. The French troops now withdrew entirely from the right bank of the Rhine, and took up their winter-quarters between Mayence and Frankenthal, and the campaign ended with the allies occupying Frankfort and Darmstadt, and observing Mayence from Hoechst.

## 20. THE GERMANS SUCCESSFULLY PROTECT TREVES.

The Prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg had been left by the Duke of Brunswick, when he crossed the Rhine, to cover, in concert with the brigade of Brentano, the vicinity of Luxembourg. As soon, therefore, as he was apprised that the corps of Clairfait and Beaulieu, retreating from the Meuse, had arrived on the Roer, he thought that the best mode of employing his forces was to place a garrison in Luxembourg, and take up a position with the 10,000 men which remained to him, the left on the Mortagne Verte, the centre at Pellingën, with his right towards Ham and Kansaarbruch; and on this he intrenched himself. Beurnonville arrived on the 14th of November, at Saar-Louis, to replace Kellerinann in the command of the army of the Moselle, but although at this moment such a reinforcement as this corps to the army of General Custine would have been of infinite service, yet the Executive Council of Paris, more alive to the propagation of their republican ideas in the Church electorates than to plans of strategy, directed their General to make an attack on Treves. On the 6th of December, Beurnonville, with 20,000 men, marched up from Saint-Wendel, and possessed himself of Saarebourg; and on the same day he sent forward General Ligneville to attack the Mortagne Verte, and the brigades of Lagrange and Destanseneil to assault Pellingën. These attacks (made at intervals of twenty-four hours from each other) failed, and Prince Hohenlohe now strengthened his force with the troops from Luxembourg, which forced Beurnonville to withdraw; but the French General advanced again on the 12th, 13th, and 15th, and on all these occasions the Germans resisted with great courage, and completely foiled every attempt to penetrate their intrenchments or to reach Treves. The weather in these mountain districts had already set in with some severity, so that what with the ice and snow the contending forces could scarcely keep their footing in the attack and defence of their hilly positions, and both sides readily concurred in discontinuing hostilities.

## 21. SWITZERLAND SAVED FROM ATTACK.

The Helvetic Confederacy had resolved to maintain an armed neutrality against the encroachments of France, but the French envoy, General Montesquieu, was directed "to break the fetters which despotism had forged to bind the Genevese," and a force was placed under his command to possess himself of Geneva. The Swiss collected 1800 men to aid in the defence of that city, and the canton of Berne assembled a force of near 10,000 men. Montesquieu contrived

to disobey the commands of the Convention and to negotiate; and conventions were accordingly entered into, and the troops withdrawn.

## 22. RUSSIANS INVADE POLAND.

The wily Czarina, disembarassed of her Turkish and northern wars, saw with pleasure the troops of Austria and Prussia file away towards the Rhine. She sent none, but contented herself with subsidizing with money the French emigrant force; while her bi-forked eagle, insatiable in acquisition and never for one moment withdrawing her eye from her own natural prey, swooped over unhappy Poland. So early as the 18th of May 60,000 Russian troops entered the territories of that republic, preceded by a declaration of war and by the withdrawal of M. Bulgokow, the Russian envoy, from Warsaw. A Polish army, utterly inefficient to resist so large an invading force, had been collected, of which Prince Joseph Poniatowski, nephew to the King, was appointed general. His force was unexpectedly augmented by the arrival of 2000 men, chiefly Cossacks, who had passed over to the Poles with all their cannon—some thirty guns.

The first action took place on the 27th, near Wimicze. An officer of the name of Gobeiowski, having 300 men on an outpost, was suddenly attacked by 2000 Russians. He resisted for two hours and a half, and maintained his ground, when the enemy withdrew. The Poles had some fifty killed and wounded, and the Russians 300. Poniatowski, notwithstanding, withdrew his army to Lubar. On the 14th of June General Rochowski, the Empress's principal general, pushed forward, and Wielkowski was ordered against him, who, falling on the flank of the Russians, quickly obliged them to retreat. Nevertheless Poniatowski, when he had obtained a full knowledge that Rochowski's whole force was near Ostropol, ordered his camp to be struck, and commenced a retrograde march the subsequent morning. But when he reached Boruszkowee an unlucky accident befell him; as his troops were passing a broken bridge the timber gave way under the weight of the cavalry. The main body of the enemy coming quick upon them, they at first strove to cross a dam; but at length having lost two whole battalions under the destructive fire that was opened upon them, they were obliged to sink all their guns and swim the river. The Prince, however, worsted the Russians at Zielme in an action which lasted from seven in the morning till five in the evening, and which cost the enemy about 4000 men. But although he was enabled to stay some hours on the field of battle and a few days at Zaslav, still he was under the necessity of continuing his retrograde march till he crossed the Bug not far from Wladowa. In Lithuania the Russians, after crossing the Dwina, took possession of Wilna without opposition; but on the 10th of June an engagement took place between Mire and Swierzna, when the Polish army was vigorously attacked, and in the end driven back. No further resistance was made in this quarter till the Poles reached Warsaw. On the 18th of July General Kcsciuzko, with 5000 men strongly intrenched, was attacked by some 17,000 Russians, when after a gallant resistance he was obliged to fall back. A new

confederation was now formed by Russian influence in opposition to the Polish constitution, to which Stanislaus Augustus was compelled to accede, and the independence of Poland was virtually destroyed.

## 1793.

1. DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.—2. WAR DECLARED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND AND FRANCE.—3. DUMOURIEZ ENTERS HOLLAND—THE BRITISH LAND AND RAISE THE SIEGE OF WILLIAMSTADT.—4. THE FRENCH UNDER MIRANDA ARE DRIVEN BACK ACROSS THE MEUSE.—5. DUMOURIEZ TAKES THE COMMAND FROM MIRANDA.—6. BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.—7. DEFECTION OF DUMOURIEZ.—8. MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.—9. DAMPIERRE PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.—10. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK DRIVES BACK CUSTINE.—11. WAR ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.—12. THE FRENCH ATTACK THE ALLIES, AND ARE REPULSED.—13. INSURRECTION IN LA VENDÉE.—14. WAR ON THE SPANISH FRONTIER.—15. INTERNAL RE-VOLTS—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF LYONS.—16. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.—17. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—SIEGE OF MAYENCE.—18. SURRENDER OF CONDÉ AND VALENCIENNES.—19. THE ALLIES ADVANCE ON CAMBRAY.—20. THE ALLIED ARMIES SEPARATE.—21. CARNOT WAR MINISTER OF FRANCE—HIS CHARACTER.—22. THE PRINCE OF COBURG BESIEGES AND TAKES QUESNOY.—23. THE DUKE OF YORK LAYS SIEGE TO DUNKIRK—AFFAIR AT LINCELLES.—24. BATTLE OF HONDSCHOOTE.—25. THE SUCCESSFUL GENERAL, HOUCARD, GUILLOTINED.—26. THE IMPERIALISTS BESIEGE MAUBEUGE.—27. THE BATTLE OF WATTIGNIES.—28. THE FRENCH BESIEGE NIJEUPOORT AND ARE REPULSED.—29. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.—30. ATTACK ON THE LINES OF WEISSENBOURG.—31. THE PRUSSIANS FAIL AT THE FORT OF BITCHE.—32. THE FRENCH UNDER HOUCHE ARE FOILED AT KAISERLAUTERN.—33. THE BATTLE OF THE GIESBERG.—34. WAR IN LA VENDÉE.—35. WAR IN THE PYRENEES.—36. BATTLE OF THE TRUILLAS.—37. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.—38. SIEGE OF TOULON.—39. NAVAL WAR.—40. WAR IN THE WEST AND EAST INDIES.—41. FINAL PARTITION OF POLAND.

### 1. DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

The first event of this year is the judicial murder of Louis XVI., King of France. The fall of a Monarch from his throne is ever one step towards his grave. It was scarcely to be expected that the example that had been set in English history of the trial and execution of a king would have been suffered to pass after the fall of the monarchy, and not be imitated by the ensanguined democrats who had obtained power in France. The points of resemblance in the two transactions, the show of justice by a mock trial, the absence

of all offence deserving of death, the condemnation of a man clearly innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and the despicable character of those who sentenced him to a violent death, are all well known facts of history, but do not require to be enlarged upon in merely military Annals. After the King's execution all diplomatic intercourse of the crowned heads of Europe with France entirely ceased, and war with the Republic became no longer a matter of hesitation with any nation. M. Chauvelin, the minister of France in London, was ordered to depart within eight days of the death of the King.

## 2. WAR DECLARED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND AND FRANCE.

On the 1st of February the National Convention anticipated matters by declaring war against the King of Great Britain, the King of Spain, and the Stadtholder of Holland. These declarations were followed by an order for an immediate levy of 300,000 men. On the 11th the King of Great Britain acquainted his parliament with these facts, and asked their support in maintaining the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. The British government forthwith took a large body of German troops into its service, and subsidized the King of Sardinia with 200,000*l.* to join the Austrians in Italy with a considerable military force. Alliances were also formed with the Empire, Prussia, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Naples, and Russia, all of whom agreed, with more or less reservation, to shut their ports against the vessels of France; but Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland refused to join this confederacy. A body of British troops was sent to Holland for its defence and protection, and the command of it was given to the King's second son, Frederick Duke of York.

In the beginning of this campaign France was called upon to combat 45,000 Austro-Sardinians from the side of the Alps; 50,000 Spaniards from that of the Pyrenees; 70,400 Imperialists and 38,000 Anglo-Batavians on the Lower Rhine and in Belgium; 33,400 Austrians between the Meuse and the Moselle; and 112,600 confederated Austrians, Prussians, and Imperialists along the Middle and Upper Rhine; which, together with the 6000 emigrants of the army of Condé, made a grand total of 355,000 combatants. To oppose these masses France had 30,000 men on the frontier of the Netherlands, 70,000 men towards Maestricht, 25,000 on the Moselle, 40,000 at Mayence, 80,000 on the Upper Rhine, 40,000 on the side of the Alps, and 30,000 in reserve, making in all 270,000 men. The condition of the French troops was of the worst description. The pay and maintenance of so large a force required enormous resources, and the national credit was utterly ruined; nor was there any one acknowledged head to direct the operations of the ancient monarchy. Dumouriez had come to Paris to endeavour to save the King's life; and in this endeavour, in which he had egregiously failed, he had lost much ground in the opinion of the dominant party. He was, moreover, a man too unsettled and vague in his character



to lead a nation, so that no opinion he gave was adopted; and, indeed, his best plans were rather those of a statesman than a general: he would now have invaded the province of Zealand for the purpose of extending the revolutionary virus against the Stadtholder's power in Holland rather than with any view to its strategical bearings.

The Emperor, having now determined to carry on the war with spirit, not only brought forward an immense army of men, but placed them under the separate command of the Marshal Prince of Coburg, a general who had gained, with Suwarrow, a great reputation in the wars against the Turks. The Generalissimo met the Duke of Brunswick on the 14th of February to determine the plan of operations for the allied armies.

### 3. DUMOURIEZ ENTERS HOLLAND—THE BRITISH LAND AND RAISE THE SIEGE OF WILLIAMSTADT.

Dumouriez about the same day set his troops in motion from Antwerp in four divisions, commanded by Generals Berneron and d'Arcon, and Colonels Tilly and Licleve, who entered the Dutch territory, and attacked Breda on the 17th. The place was in good order, and garnished with 200 pieces of artillery, but General d'Arcon, without opening trenches, established two batteries of mortars against the fortress, and so imposed by a bold front on the Count de Hyland, the governor, that he capitulated on the 25th with a garrison of 2400 men. On the 26th the Governor of Klundert, General de Boetzelaar, in endeavouring to cut his way out with 150 men, met a glorious death with the keys of the fortress on his person. D'Arcon then received orders to undertake the siege of Gertruydenberg. This place was in the best state of defence, with a strong garrison; nevertheless, in three days it surrendered on the same terms as Breda. The British troops landed at Helvoetsluys on the 5th of March. The republican army was at the time besieging Williamstadt. The Dutch Governor resisted with great resolution. The French had already advanced their guns to the foot of the glacis, and had established at this point some guns, the fire of which incommoded the garrison very much. On the night of the 15th the "Siren," Captain Manby, sent three gun-boats up the Hasing Vliet, under the command of Lieutenant Western. These coming on the French battery under cover of a fog, opened such a telling fire that the besiegers abandoned it and fled. After this success the Lieutenant repaired to Williamstadt, where he was received with immense surprise by the Governor, and the same night the French abandoned the siege. This enterprising young officer continued to give his aid to the attempt of the Hollanders upon Moerdyk, on the 21st, when in the act of levelling a 12-pounder in his gun-boat, he was shot through the head by a musket ball. He was the first British officer of either service killed in the new war, and such general sympathy was excited by his gallantry and death, that the Duke of York in response to it attended his remains in person to the grave. Meanwhile, on the 10th of March, Dumouriez had suddenly quitted the army, giving over the command to General Fiers, and hastened to the

Meuse, to repair the disasters that had befallen the French army there under Miranda.

#### 4. THE FRENCH UNDER MIRANDA ARE DRIVEN BACK ACROSS THE MEUSE.

This General had on the 11th of February bombarded Venloo, but on the approach of the Prince of Brunswick-Oels he had moved away to Maestricht, to which he laid siege on the 20th with 20,000 men. On the 23rd, Bouchet, a distinguished engineer, completed his batteries, and the General summoned the town. The Prince of Hesse, who commanded there, replied by a vigorous fire, but Miranda poured in a shower of red-hot shot that set the town on fire in several places; nevertheless, the Prince was not disposed to capitulate.

The corps of General Valence covered the investment of Maestricht on the side of Aix-la-Chapelle, under the immediate command of General Lanoue, and the Prince of Coburg determined to attempt to surprise him in his position. On the 28th, in the night, Clairfait crossed the Roer near Juliers, and on the 1st of March was followed by the columns of the Archduke Charles and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who crossed at Dueren, and moved up to Aldenhoven, to the number of 35,000 men. Lanoue had hastily returned from Paris, but he found his division so scattered in their cantonments that on the 2nd of March he was surprised and forced to fly before the Austrian attack. At Lintich the dragoons of Latour cut up the retreating republicans and scattered them in all directions. On the 2nd of March the Imperialists had already advanced to Fauquemont, and the Archduke Charles was pushed forward, which obliged Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht, and to retire on St. Tron; while the Prince of Wirtemberg attacked Aix-la-Chapelle, where Dampierre commanded, who was giving way before the Austrians when Miaczinsky arriving from Roldul re-established matters, but in the end the French, after having gallantly fought in the streets and open places (where there were bloody encounters), were obliged to retire on Liege. The French army were so separated in their retreat that Lanoue with 15,000 men narrowly escaped the necessity of surrendering; and Neuilly and Steugel on the French right escaped with difficulty through Limbourg to the Ardennes forest, Champmorin and Lamarlière were entirely cut off on the side of Diest. The French army were at length enabled to get away beyond the Meuse, with the loss of 6000 or 7000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and upwards of twenty pieces of cannon. Miranda, whose army was so scattered that he scarcely knew where to find the several divisions, did not discontinue his retreat until he had reached Tirlemont and Louvain, but the Archduke desisted from his pursuit when he had reached the Meuse. At the same time that these events were proceeding, the Prince of Brunswick-Oels with 12,000 men, supported by an Austrian division under General Wenckheim, attacked the French right posted near Roermonde on the 3rd of March, while Latour advanced from Linnich. Valence was at the time with this French division as well as Miranda; but such was the general

disorganization of the army occasioned by the surprise, that neither the coolness of the one general nor the bravery of the other could prevent a speedy retreat.

It should have been stated that as early as the 3rd of January Custine, finding himself hampered by a division of the allied army posted at Hockheim near Mayence, had determined to attempt to dislodge it, and accordingly had sent on this service eight battalions with twelve guns under the orders of Generals Houchard and Sedillot. The Prussians, taken altogether by surprise, had evacuated the post with scarcely a shot; but the Duke of Brunswick, fearing that the intention of the French might be to make this advance post a means of annoyance to his future proceedings, had sent forward on the night of the 5th of January, before the enemy securely established himself, the Prince of Hohenlohe with a strong corps, who in their turn surprised the French, who retired in all haste on Cassel, leaving behind them the guns they had brought from Mayence, and with a loss of some 300 men. Had the Prince of Hohenlohe been aware that at this time the bridge over the Rhine had been destroyed, the whole of Houchard's division must have laid down their arms.

The Prussians had summoned the fort of Königstein, where Captain Meynier, the governor of a small garrison, enacted one of those little national hyperboles in the presence of the Prussian officer, which are found to succeed very often when acted by Frenchmen against other nations. The gasconade so far prevailed as to deter any attempt upon it by assault or otherwise, though the place was blockaded until the 9th of March, when his men were exhausted, and seeing no prospect of relief, he gave up the place. The defence of this officer was so well considered that he was at once promoted from captain to be a general of brigade.

##### 5. DUMOURIEZ TAKES THE COMMAND FROM MIRANDA.

It has been already stated that on the first information of the events that had occurred on the Roer, Dumouriez had hastily quitted Holland, to repair to the scenes of the disasters that had befallen Generals Miranda and Valence. Arrived at Antwerp, he found a French commissary in office "persecuting the inhabitants unto death, and binding and delivering into prison both men and women." He knew that great dangers ensued from these excesses, and the General, accordingly, on his way through, deposed the commissary, and sent him back to France; and at Brussels, likewise, as he passed, dismissed the military governor, for the purpose of re-establishing a better confidence between the people and his army. But all these energetic doings had already caused him much ill will and many enemies in the National Convention, where the deposed functionaries had friends, and somewhat later they bore fruit to his prejudice.

Dumouriez, however, now joined the fugitive troops, which had been reassembled at Louvain, and took the command. Here again he found fresh commissioners from the Convention, sent to watch and thwart him, whom he set at defiance. But they had already effected great disorders among the troops, and it required all the

General's address to re-establish the *morale* of his army, deranged by their rout before the enemy and by the excesses of republican doctrine. He felt that the best method of regaining the confidence of his troops was to resume the offensive and lead them against the enemy. Accordingly he determined to make an attack. On the 15th of March the young Archduke Charles had seized on Tirlemont, where he found some 300 men. Dumouriez therefore determined to drive him out of it on the 16th. With this view he sent forward General Lamarche to take Goitzenhoven, which the Austrians had neglected to occupy, and which commanded the whole country, which was here easily defensible from its ditches and hedges. As soon as the Austrians were aware of the hostile intention they attacked the French, and the cuirassiers of the Emperor succeeded in charging the infantry at the summit of the hill, but were in the end driven back, for the division of Neuilly appearing at the same instant behind them at Heylissem, they determined to withdraw, and Tirlemont was again occupied by the French.

#### 6. THE BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.

This partial success determined the French General-in-Chief to bring on a general action the following day. He drew up his army on the heights that crossed the chaussée from Tirlemont to Liege. The right behind Neer-Heylissem was commanded by General Valence; the centre on the causeway itself was under the orders of the Duke de Chartres, and General Miranda on the left was formed up *en potence* turning back on Oplinter; the French army was reckoned at 45,000 men. The Austrians were drawn up in two lines of 10,000 men each, the first under Ferrari and the second under Colloredo, occupying the height, having Oberwinden on the left, and the village of Orsnael in front of Halle on the right. General Clairfait was in reserve with 9000 men on the left wing; and the Archduke Charles with as many more was on the causeway in front of the right. A division of cavalry under General-Major Stipalitz was on the extreme right watching the plain country near the village of Leau, which was not occupied. Thus the entire Austrian army was 39,000 men. The ground occupied by this battle was very close to the position of Marshal Villeroy at Ramillies in 1706; and the same river, the Little Geete, separated the two armies.

At nine o'clock of the morning of the 18th of March, General Valence with his division passed the Little Geete by the bridge of Neer-Heylissem in three columns. The first column under General Lamarche was to attack the extreme left of the Duke of Coburg's position at Racour, which village he attacked and occupied, but finding no enemy then in his front, he closed to his left on the second column led by General Leveneur, who had marched on Oberwinden, on the road to which he met with and attacked the Austrians; and notwithstanding a heavy fire, at the same time got possession of the mound of Middelwinden, which jutting out from the Austrian position, commanded entirely the villages of Oberwinden and Neerwinden. The third column under Neuilly only found some light

troops in these villages, and drove them out into the plain beyond. Clairfait observing this rashness in the French attacks brought forward his reserve. The grenadiers under D'Alvinzi were directed upon Oberwinden, and the cavalry regiment of Esterhazy on Racour. He soon retook and occupied all the villages which the enemy had passed through, Racour, Oberwinden, and Neerwinden, and the Austrians at the same time regained possession of the mound of Middelwinden, for as the scattered divisions gave way he was enabled to bring a considerable fire of artillery to bear upon it from the upper range.

The Duke de Chartres had passed the Geete at the bridge of Esmael and Elissem in two columns, and had directed his march to the right and left of the village of Neerwinden; coming up therefore at this very moment, he again drove the Austrians out of that village. The Prince of Coburg therefore sent forward Colloredo with the first line of the Imperial infantry, and covering their advance with such a concentrated fire of artillery on Neerwinden and the mound of Middelwinden, that the village was again reoccupied by the Germans after much resistance, in which General Desfaïets was killed. Dumouriez coming up at this critical moment brought forward his whole right wing to retake the village, and the regiment of Deuxparts succeeded in getting into it, but the Austrians poured in such reinforcements that the French were again forced to retire with considerable loss, and as they were attempting to re-form behind Neerwinden they were attacked right and left by the Imperial cuirassiers of Zschirtz and Nassau. Valence, placing himself at the head of the French horse, charged the enemy vigorously, and was himself so covered with sabre wounds in the encounter that he was obliged to quit the field, but he succeeded in repulsing the Austrian cavalry, and General Thouvenot, bringing some guns to bear with grapeshot on the cuirassiers of Nassau, obliged them at length to retire with considerable loss.

The French now halted, and endeavoured to re-establish order on their left and centre. The Duke de Chartres with the other generals exerted themselves in this object with such good effect that in a few hours the different regiments and brigades were reassembled on the slope of the hill looking into Neerwinden and Racour, and would thus have been in a position to repair their want of complete success at this time by an attack in the morning; but General Miranda, who commanded the left wing, went forward to his attack in three columns, under the orders of Miaczinsky, Ruault, and Champmorin, but found the Archduke Charles strongly posted on the causeway behind the bridge of Orsmael. General Ruault drove out the Austrian light troops, but could not get beyond the village on account of the well-directed artillery of the Archduke upon every débouché. Miaczinsky crossed the stream and assailed Neerhespen, but the Archduke, leading his advanced guard and supported by Benjowski and the cavalry of the Prince of Wirtemberg, drove him back again, and took up a position facing Overhespen. The Prince of Coburg, observing that Dumouriez had brought forward the greater part of the French

army to the attack of the Austrian left, which he had now secured by the possession of Middelwinden, determined to play off on his adversary a similar manœuvre to his own, by crushing the weakened flank of the French left; and accordingly ordered the Prince of Wirtemberg to march with the right wing of the second line to secure the position of Halle, while he sent forward General Benjowski through Orsmael, to second the Archduke. Miaczinsky observing this movement, and thinking himself safe at Overhespen, sent eight battalions to the assistance of his left; but the volunteers in this wing as soon as they saw the enemy took to flight, and the Austrians, bringing forward their cavalry, soon completed the rout. Guiscard, commanding the artillery, was killed; and Ruault, who commanded the division on the causeway, was wounded. Miranda, instead of ordering up the rest of Miaczinsky's column and calling in General Champmorin to his assistance, now ordered a general retreat upon Tirlemont without apprising the General-in-Chief of the circumstance. Benjowski in the mean while, indifferent as to the fugitives who had fled to Tirlemont, pressed forward on the chaussée in pursuit of Miranda.

Dumouriez had noticed the cessation of fire on his left about two o'clock, which he attributed to success; but when towards the close of the day the Archduke appeared, strengthening the troops in his front and in the rear of his left centre, the disorder and confusion in his army became extreme; no power could control the French soldiers, who broke from all discipline, and, in spite of all their generals could do, fled across the Little Geete in the utmost dismay. The Duke de Chartres was active in his endeavour to restore order, but it was all in vain, and he was carried away with the fugitives. Dumouriez galloped off to his extreme left, which he found clear of either friends or foes, and at ten at night actually reached Leau, which he found had been occupied, but was again abandoned by Dampierre. At Orsmael he found Austrian hulans in possession, through which he contrived to pass, and got safe to Tirlemont at midnight. He instantly ordered Miranda to assemble his troops and go out at once to occupy the height in front of Wommersom, where the causeway crosses it, so as to secure his left flank, and give time for the right and centre to fall back into their old position. The French in this battle lost 4000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Austrians about half that number; but no trophies of the day appear to have been obtained by either army.

The Austrians formed up on the 19th on the original position of the French before the battle, and the Prince of Coburg then moved by his right to threaten Diest and Aerschot, which caused the French General to fall back on Louvain, where he took up a position on the heights of Pellenberg, which was occupied by Champmorin, having on his left Miaczinsky posted at Petersrede; Leveneur was posted in the wood of Mesendahl; and Dampierre moved on Floreval to communicate with Neailly, who with 8000 men was ordered to Judoigne, to prevent the conquerors from getting to Brussels through the forest

of Soignies. On the morning of the 22nd of March, under a thick fog, the Imperialists advanced in three columns upon the position of the Pellenberg; the division of Benjowski on the high road, the second on Blierbeck, and the third, under Clairfait, on Tourinnes. They found themselves suddenly under the French fire. The Hungarian grenadiers, coming unexpectedly on the enemy, carried the village of Blierbeck in its centre. Champmorin and Leveneur, however, recovered themselves as soon as the fog disappeared, and maintained the position against any further attempt on that day. Clairfait renewed his attack on the 23rd, and drove back General Lamarche across the Dyle, which thus compromising the flank of Leveneur, obliged him to retire and take post at Corbeck, whereupon Dumouriez ordered the retreat of the whole army to Louvain, when the Austrians without further resistance moved up into the French position. A few days later the whole army under the command of Dumouriez received orders to retire within the French frontier.

#### 7. DEFECTION OF DUMOURIEZ.

The General-in-Chief in the midst of his triumphs had seriously offended the Jacobin rulers, and he was not likely to escape their vengeance now that he had been defeated. He well knew the reception which the jealous and suspicious Convention were preparing for him, and he felt that the only hope for his country depended on his overreaching them. He therefore entertained the singular project of marching his army upon Paris, to restore the throne; and with the view of securing the neutrality of the allies while he was employed on this object, Dumouriez opened himself on this subject to General Mack, who was sent to him at his own request by the Prince of Coburg, and with whom he finally agreed that the Imperial troops were no longer to be considered as enemies, but as auxiliaries, and were not to pass the French frontier during his march to the capital, unless he should find himself compelled to call upon them for their aid. But he did not reflect, that what a general might do with a soldiery whom he had just led to victory, was a very different influence to that which he could obtain when his followers were chafing under recent defeat; for the French soldiers, though they had been attached to their General, were still more devoted to their country; so that the leader of 50,000 men found himself suddenly deserted and proscribed in the midst of the troops, whom he had so recently commanded with unlimited authority. They now "got them up on every side;" entire companies deserted to the interior, with their arms and baggage, and it would have required another army to stop them. It is extraordinary that the Prince of Coburg should have been in such entire ignorance of the condition of his adversary, and of the debility and confusion that was patent to every peasant of the country, as to have been held back by negotiations at a time when he might have boldly pushed forward into the country, and have done that for himself which it was clear could not have been done by a bastard kind of compromise.

from a traitor; which, even had it succeeded, would eventually have made Dumouriez as difficult to deal with as the Convention.

However, to return to facts; on the very day that the Pellenberg was forced (the 22nd of March), some kind of verbal understanding was come to between Dumouriez and Mack. On the 27th a conference was held at Ath, at which the Duke de Chartres and Generals Valence and Thouvenot assisted, and where it was settled that the French army should remain undisturbed by the Austrians at Mons and Tournay, and that the fortress of Condé should be given to the Imperialists, as a guarantee of sincerity. Dumouriez's first care was to secure the fortresses, and Miaczinsky was sent to Lille with this object, and to arrest there the commissaries of the Convention, but this General suffered himself to be made the dupe of Colonel St. Georges, the commander of the garrison, and became a prisoner in the fortress; he afterwards paid the penalty of this folly with his head. The troops at Condé and Valenciennes likewise successfully resisted the attempt of the generals to bring them over to the constitutional party. The first intimation which the Convention received of Dumouriez's design was from himself. Three determined Jacobins had been sent to his head-quarters to obtain authentic accounts of those reports which had already "cast their shadows before" at Paris. In a long and animated discussion with them, the General-in-Chief openly avowed his views and his intentions to destroy the Convention. To the imprudence of this avowal was added the still greater folly of letting the commissioners return to Paris to apprise his enemies of the danger that threatened them. As soon then as the Convention was informed of Dumouriez's projects, they summoned him to their bar: and when he refused to obey, they despatched four representatives, together with Beaurnonville, the Minister at War, to superseue him. The General received this commission at the head of his staff. "Citizen General," said Camus, who was one of them, "will you obey the decree of the Convention, and accompany us to Paris?" "Not now," was the reply. "Well then," rejoined the representative, "I declare you suspended from your functions; you are no longer General, and I command you to be taken in to custody." "This is too much," said Dumouriez; and he instantly ordered his hussars to arrest all the five representatives, whom he delivered up to the Austrian General, as hostages for the safety of the Royal Family in the Temple.

The die was now cast, and he proceeded to fulfil his engagements with the Prince of Coburg. But on the 2nd of April, on his route to Condé, he encountered a body of French grenadiers headed by a young officer named Davoust, who would have seized him had he not escaped by abandoning his horse, which had refused to leap a ditch, and fairly running away. The following day, the 3rd, feeling the necessity of following up his *coup d'état*, he repaired under an escort of Austrian hussars, to regain the camp at St. Amand; here he found his soldiers in violent agitation between their duty to their General who had led them to victory, and the belief that was current of his treachery to the Republic. Dumouriez harangued



them, and tried to impress upon their minds the patriotism of the course he recommended, but the army was deaf to all his eloquence and all his entreaties; and on the 5th he was obliged to quit them in haste, and to fly, accompanied by General Lamarlière, the young Duke de Chartres, Colonels Thouvenot and Mountjoye, with his staff, escorted by Colonel Norsoman with two squadrons of the hussars of Berching. On the way he was encountered by the battalion of the Yonne, marching from Tournay to Condé, who tried to stop the party, and opened upon them a volley of musketry, which levelled many of his followers to the ground, but the General escaped in safety to the Austrian camp.

#### 8. MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

Thus ended the military career of Charles Francis Dumouriez, the first of those military chieftains raised to eminence by the new Republic, who might have apparently anticipated the career of Napoleon, or have imitated the ancient renown of Coriolanus or Monk, and have saved the world the miseries that were in store for it for the next quarter of a century. He was born in 1739, and served with the French armies in a subordinate rank during the Seven Years' War, distinguishing himself sufficiently to earn for his bravery the Cross of St. Louis. Being an adventurous spirit, he chafed at inaction, and tried various enterprises before he was sent as chief of the staff on the French expedition against Corsica in 1768. He afterwards went to Poland and served against the Russians in 1771. On his return from a confidential mission to Sweden, he was committed to the Bastille, for some imprudence or other, but on his release in 1778 was made Governor of Cherbourg, and sent to form a great naval establishment there, connected with a projected invasion of England. At the beginning of the Revolution, he connected himself with the party of the Girondists, with whom he came into power in 1792, with the portfolio of foreign affairs. Early in his administration, his influence was employed to force Louis XVI. to declare war against the young King of Hungary and Bohemia, who had just succeeded to these dominions on the death of the Emperor, his father. Upon the invasion of France by the Austrians and Prussians, Dumouriez was sent to the command of all the armies on the frontier, being regarded as "a man whose ardent spirit, indefatigable activity, and boundless resources, were best fitted to rescue France from the perilous situation" in which, it may be remarked, he himself had contributed to place her, from the most impolitic proceedings he had forced upon the King. Undismayed by the first successes of the Duke of Brunswick, his eagle eye speedily fixed on the sole defensible strategic point on the frontiers of France against the Germans, and he resolved to make his stand against the enemy in the forest of Argonne, which he termed "the Thermopylæ of France." Determined to gain these impregnable passes, he took the bold resolution of pushing on directly across the Austrian vanguard, until he could call up Kellermann and the other divisions to his aid. With these he made the famous stand at Valmy, where, thwarted and disorganised,

the allies first endeavoured to open negotiations, and then retired altogether out of France. Being thus left at liberty, he was enabled to execute his favourite project of invading the Low Countries, and rescuing those fine provinces from Austrian dominion. He soon found himself across the frontier, and on the 5th and 6th of November gained the battle of Jemmappes, took Liege, Antwerp, and the greater part of Flanders. In the height of his military glory he thought himself able to stay the violence of party, and repaired to Paris with the expectation that his influence could save the life of the King. After the execution, he resolved to use his best endeavours to re-establish the monarchy under the son of Louis; but his success, and perhaps his arrogance in consequence of it, lost him altogether the estimation of the violent men who ruled his country. War having been now declared against Holland, he determined, with the adventurous spirit which marked the character of the man, to effect a passage across the sea at Dort, and thus to penetrate into the very heart of the United Provinces: but fortune all at once turned against him. The successes of the Prince of Coburg against the French armies, near Maestricht, called him hastily away from what appeared an easy conquest to repair the faults of others; and on the 18th he fought and lost the battle of Neerwinden. Then began a series of negotiations with the Generals of the enemy, which scarcely admit of any justification, but which ended in bringing him as a refugee for his life to the Austrian head-quarters. Distrusting his new associates, he wandered about Germany until he heard that a price was set on his head, when he fled to England. He took a lively interest in the progress and issue of the war, but he did not return to France at the restoration of the Bourbons. He died in 1823, at Turville Park, near Henley, honoured with the friendship of many distinguished English public men of the day.

Dumouriez had many of the qualities of a great man, an enterprising character, and indefatigable activity. He had also, undoubtedly, military talents of a high order; was fertile in resources, bold and energetic; but success had raised him to a giddy height of fame and power: and volatile, fickle, and inconsiderate in character, he adopted his measures too hastily to ensure his object. Veering with the infatuation of the extraordinary times in which he lived, he changed with every wind that blew, and it is impossible to determine whether he was most sincere as a republican or as a friend of monarchy. He was, at the last, the dupe of his vain-glory and ambition; and although he has been branded as a bribed traitor, there does not appear sufficient testimony to justify the imputation. In his purblindness he opened his intentions too unreservedly to fulfil them; and in utter ignorance of the character of his soldiers, he entered upon a scheme for or against his country, which would have been almost impracticable in the hour of his greatest success, but which was utterly absurd at the moment when he had impaired all his credit. Denounced at length as a public enemy, and threatened with the vengeance of those in power, he thought that, knowing the incompetence and dishonesty of those who had obtained the helm of affairs, he might

in all sincerity and good faith save his country, and restore order and good government to France, by co-operating with the combined powers, whose armies were in her bosom: an infatuation which savoured of the very smallest element of patriotism.

#### 9. DAMPIERRE PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

The news of the defection of Dumouriez and the retreat of Custine before the Prussians, arriving at Paris at the same time, created a fearful sensation in that capital. The Convention decreed a permanent sitting, and sent off fresh commissaries to reassemble the army of the North, left without any chief or organization. These formed on the spur of the moment a camp at Famars, near Valenciennes, and appointed General Dampierre to the command. It seems strange that at such a moment the allied chiefs should have been dilatory in their movements, when there was nothing between them and Paris; but instead of the energy that might have been expected, we find the Prince of Coburg, on the 7th of April, at Antwerp, deliberating in council with the Prince of Orange and the diplomatists of Austria, Great Britain, and Prussia, as to "indemnities for the past and guarantees for the future." The whole of the month of April was therefore lost in bringing into line the various contingents of the great powers who were now assembling in the vicinity of Quievrain, immediately opposite to Valenciennes.

#### 10. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK DRIVES BACK CUSTINE.

The Duke of Brunswick, during all these proceedings, was in command of an army of nearly 80,000 men, of which 55,000 were Prussians, and the rest Saxons, Hessians, Bavarians, and some Austrians. The Duke watched Custine at Mayence and its vicinity with 45,000 men. This General had been disgusted by the arrival of three commissaries or field-deputies, who interfered so much with his command, that he took advantage of a lull in field operations to repair to Paris to make a remonstrance against them, which brought on him in the end a fearful reprisal. It was on the 30th of April that the Convention had determined to send sixty of these representatives to the several armies. The number sent to the army of the North was twelve; some of whom were charged with the execution of works of defence and supplying of fortified places; some with the arming and equipment of recruits; and some had the duty of surveillance of all military operations. The power of these proconsuls was extreme: they owed responsibility to no one. Generals were displaced by them and sent to the scaffold, new ones were nominated by them from the lowest of the people. Before six months had passed, it was reported of these commissaries, by St. Just, that they had pillaged at least three millions from the taxes due to the State. Custine returned from Paris without any success to his mission, and with the bare order to defend the course of the Rhine; he placed his right under Neuwinger at Bingen, Houchard at Krefeld, and

cantonned the rest of his army in the villages and places between Worms and Spire. Before the return of the French General, the King of Prussia had joined the army, and determined to take the offensive. In order to distract the attention of the enemy, he sent 1200 men under the command of Colonel Zekuly, to cross the Rhine at Rheinfels. On the 17th of March, Zekuly attacked Houchard at Stromberg, and at first with some success; but the French General soon recovered himself, and drove back the Prussians. Custine on the 20th himself attacked Zekuly, and after some hard fighting forced him to retreat. But the news of the victory at Neerwinden encouraged the King to advance again, and on the 25th the Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen crossed the Rhine by a bridge of boats at Baccharach, and the same day advanced and took a post on the Stromberg. On the 27th he sent forward the Prince of Wirtemberg and Zekuly to attack Neuwinger, in position at Waldalgesheim. The French General had so extended his troops, that the Prussians were here enabled to establish themselves on his left, and the Prince of Hohenlohe coming rapidly on the enemy at the same time put them to flight; in the conflict General Neuwinger was wounded and taken prisoner. The whole army followed Prince Hohenlohe across the river, and camped on the Stromberg. After having had a smart affair at Bingen on the 28th, Custine now withdrew his troops, and feeling the weakness of his left flank, retreated altogether behind the Pfir on the 30th, which enabled the Prince of Hohenlohe to advance to Dulsheim, on the high road to Worms, and thus cut off the French General absolutely from Mayence. A detachment from that fortress, of some 5000 or 6000 men under General Schaal, with the siege train, came out from the city to force their way to join Custine, but were prevented and driven back after some hard fighting to Gunterblum. The Duke of Brunswick now brought up his whole army and would have pushed the French further backward, but their cavalry, under Clarke, showed so firm a front that they checked the Prussians in a charge at Gunsterheim, and accordingly the French army established themselves behind the river Pfir, on the 30th of March, with their right resting at Worms. The King, on this, ordered General Wurmser to cross the Rhine at Ketsch, near Spire, and to occupy Germesheim, in the French rear, which obliged General Custine to fall back upon Landau, and subsequently to Lauterbourg, where he intrenched a position behind the Lauter, resting with its left centre on Weissenbourg, to cover the gorges of the Vosges territory. The Duke of Brunswick, upon this, sat down before Mayence, of which he prepared to undertake the siege in form.

#### 11. WAR ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.

General Dampierre turned to good account the leisure afforded him in reforming and disciplining his army. He thought it well to withdraw to Bouchain, in order to be less under the eye of the enemy, and formed a camp at La Madelaine, where he collected, in a short time, 24,000 men, having General Lamarche, with 200 men,

on his right at Quesnoy, and General Lamarlière, with a part of the garrison of Lille on his left. On the 18th of April the Prince of Coburg closed his army up on Valenciennes, which immediately brought back Dampierre to his camp at Famars on the 15th. It had been agreed that the British contingent, under the Duke of York, should assemble at Tournay, where he was joined by a Hanoverian division on the 23rd; and now they entered the line and the allies had assembled on the French frontier a force of 45,000 men, to which were only opposed 30,000 badly organized French troops.

## 12. THE FRENCH ATTACK THE ALLIES AND ARE REPULSED.

The French commissaries were sensible of the necessity of "blood-ing" their troops as soon as possible, as well for their own encouragement as for the public feeling of the nation, much depressed by the late untoward events, and urged Dampierre, notwithstanding the disproportion of his means, to attempt something for the relief of Condé, which was already blockaded by a force under the Prince of Wirtemberg. It was accordingly arranged to make a general attack on the whole line of the allies on the morning of the 1st of May. The outposts of General Otto were driven in on that day, but General Ferrari, coming up to his support, stopped the French advance, under General Rozière, at St. Sauve. General Colloredo, advancing from Sebourg, came in sight of General Lamarche's division at Curgies, who no sooner saw the apparition of a goodly array of Austrian squadrons, than they fled in disorder, and escaped with difficulty to their camp across the Ronelle, followed by Colloredo. General Ferrari had equal success against General Rozière's attack, and drove him back into Valenciennes. On the other side of the Scheldt, Clairfait, with equal facility, drove back General Kilmaine into his camp at Auzin, but General Lamarlière, who had brought up 3000 French from Lille and Tournay to threaten St. Amand, found to his surprise only 4000 Prussians there, whom he might have crushed, but knowing nothing of what was passing on his right, he contented himself with driving the enemy out of it into their camp at Maulde, and retired again. The French lost in these attacks some 2000 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Nevertheless, the commissaries urged another attempt to save Condé: and Dampierre determined upon a plan of attack, which might have answered at the first, when, as it was seen, the left found no great force opposed to it; but the Prince of Coburg had now remedied this defect, by closing in his right, and accordingly the British division was brought up to occupy the camp at Maulde. Dampierre, considering that the forces of his adversary were separated by the Scheldt, determined on making a feint on the side of Quesnoy, and on carrying all his strength against Clairfait at Raismes, and on the British General at Maulde and St. Amand. Lamarlière accordingly advanced in three columns on the 8th. Desponches, in command of the right, was to advance on Vicoigne, Chaumont, with the left, on Rumegies, and Lamarlière, taking the direction of the centre, was to move on St. Amand.

Here he arrived without much opposition, for the Prussians had been withdrawn. General Hedouville succeeded in obtaining a footing in the village of Raismes, but Clairfait sent General Wenckheim to the assistance of his troops, and freed the village of the French. Dampierre consequently put himself at the head of eight battalions, to regain this important advantage, when he was struck by a cannon-shot, which carried off his leg and thigh. General Lamarche succeeded to the command, and feeling the discouragement to the troops of the loss of their general, ordered a retreat. Though the Austrians had succeeded in driving the French out of Raismes, they had not succeeded in dislodging them out of the woods of Vicogne; and General Knobelsdorf, who commanded the Prussians, now requested that some of the British might be sent to him to strengthen his post, and force back the enemy.

This was the first occasion on which the British met the republican troops. About twelve o'clock the grenadiers, Coldstreams, and 3rd regiment of British guards marched up between the abbey of Vicogne and St. Amand. The Coldstreams marching at the head of the column first came up with a line of the enemy's intrenchments, flanked by a battery. These, under the command of Colonel Pennington, speedily drove back the enemy, and with the usual ardour of very young troops, drove him home to his very guns, which instantly opened with fatal effect upon the British guards, who suffered dearly for their temerity. However, though the cannonade lasted till dark, they held their ground. On the 9th the Prussians and Austrians carried five of the French batteries, and on the 10th General Lamarche, upon the orders of General Lamarche, withdrew his forces back to Lille without his being pursued.

The Prince of Coburg now determined to assume the offensive, and to dislodge the French from their camp at Famars, in order to undertake the siege of Valenciennes, which he felt himself equal to carry on at the same time that he held Condé closely invested. The French camp was well defended by redoubts and abattis, and occupied a hill behind the Ronelle, a stream inaccessible to the guns. The Duke of York was ordered to attack the right flank of the camp, and General Ferrari the redoubt of Aulnoit. On the 23rd of May the British marched from their bivouac, and arrived on the hills between Preseau and Mareches, where they came in sight of the enemy, who opened a distant cannonade against them. Two squadrons of hussars were sent rapidly forward to cover the bridges, which the artillery were enabled to lay across the Ronelle, and these were followed, at two in the afternoon, by the brigade of British guards, who at once moved forward under fire of the French artillery, which was well served, and succeeded in silencing their guns, which were at this time the strength of the French army. A smart charge of cavalry repelled the enemy, and after the cannonade had lasted some time, seven battalions, under the orders of Generals Abercrombie and Walmoden, got up the hill, where all encamped on the same position that had been occupied by the enemy the night previous, between Artre and Querremain.

The French took advantage of the approach of night to withdraw the whole of their troops from the camp of Famars, which they were enabled to do unopposed, and to retreat on Bouchain, where they occupied one of the many localities known as *Cæsar's camp*. With the overwhelming force of the allies something more brilliant might have been accomplished, but the extreme caution of the Generalissimo had sent the divisions of Latour and Weidach to observe Maubeuge, and another corps to observe Condé, which frittered down his strength, and, indeed, it was not till the next morning that the camp of Mount Anzin, on the other side of the Scheldt, was entered by Clairfait; for the French General Kilmaine, who had held it the previous day against General Colloredo, had only evacuated it in the course of the night. The French in these affairs lost 600 or 700 men, and seventeen pieces of artillery.

The Prince of Coburg now determined upon the siege of Valenciennes, and whilst the Austrian General-in-Chief is occupied with one fortress, and the Prussian with another, it will be well to turn our attention towards La Vendée, where an alarming insurrection had become organized against the government, which seriously affected the general state of affairs, and might have jeopardized the existence of the Republic altogether.

### 13. INSURRECTION IN LA VENDÉE.

The murder of the King and the conduct of the revolutionary party at Paris produced a violent reactionary feeling in those parts of Brittany and Poitou that bore the name of La Vendée. The people of these provinces were firm royalists, and much attached to their religion, and being stimulated by their priesthood to rise in defence of the altar and throne, they sounded the tocsin on the 10th of March, and under the command of Charette and Stofflet (a garde-chasse of M. Maulévrier), and others, they erected the royal standard, and proclaimed the infant son of Louis XVI. King, by the name of Louis XVII. The first Vendean blood that flowed, was to oppose the authorities at St. Florent, who were proceeding to draw the conscription for the army. When the tumult commenced, a gun was brought forward and opened on the revolvers, but it was speedily silenced and taken. No day subsequently succeeded that did not witness some new degree of conflict and bloodshed, and the Marquis de Beauveau, the administrator of the district, was killed, on the 15th, in one of these mêlées. The plan first adopted by the insurgents was entirely defensive. Swayed by those among them whose knowledge and experience in the conduct of war entitled them to respect and deference, they kept solely to the protection of their own villages and hearths, sallying forth beyond the limits of their own country only to obtain arms, ammunition, and such implements of war as they needed. In a short time, through repeated victories over the republicans, they became possessed of large quantities of military necessities, and at the same time succeeded in striking a panic among their adversaries, thus commanding their respect. Moreover the natural face of their country was favourable to enterprises

of the kind; rugged, uneven, and woody, intersected by marshes, and generally difficult of access, it secured them against sudden surprises. It is the opinion of many, that if they had uniformly adhered to their defensive plan, they would have ultimately succeeded, or, at least, would never have been overcome; but, elated with unchecked success, they relaxed their caution, and consequently lost their superiority.

Cathelineau, a *voiturier*, afterwards called the Missionary, stormed an intrenchment, *knife in hand*, at Challans, on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Charette, and the next day they captured Chemillé, with some prisoners and arms; on the following day Stofflet advanced to Chollet, and took it. Soon D'Elbée and Bonchamp, both most distinguished leaders, had similar successes: they defeated General Marcé at St. Vincent on the 19th, took Chalonnes on the 21st, defeated General Gauvilliers à Beaupreau, and drove him back behind the Loire on the 23rd of April. But all these combats, though bloody, were conducted on no plan, and by no regular leader, until, at length, Henry de la Roche-Jacquelin joined his countrymen at Chollet, and led them against the republican General Quétineau on the 5th of May, who had established himself at Thouars, a strong place on a hill to the south of Saumur. This renowned leader placed himself at the head of the infantry, crossed the river, and fell upon his opponents with such fury, that he took the republican General prisoner, with the whole of his division, twelve guns, and several thousand muskets. Encouraged by this success, the Vendéans advanced against Chataignerie, garrisoned by 4000 men, which they stormed and carried, but on the 15th La Roche-Jacquelin and Lescure were defeated at Fontenay, with the loss of twenty-four guns, including (the object of much veneration to them) the gun called Marie Jeanne. The Vendean chiefs assembled, on the 5th and 6th of June, a force of 40,000 men, and on the 7th stormed and captured the important town of Saumur, and then determined to make an effort against Nantes, the capital of the district, but were there discomfited by General Canclaux, on the 28th of June, and Cathelineau was killed. On the 15th of July the republican General Labarollière, however, forced the bridge at Martigné-Briand, where La Roche-Jacquelin, Bonchamp, Stofflet, and others were severely wounded. Nevertheless, on the 17th, an abbé, calling himself Bishop of Agra, sounded the tocsin, and at the head of a multitude, D'Elbée, who was now generalissimo, completely overwhelmed General Biron, at the head of 15,000 men, took all his artillery and baggage, and completely re-established the royalist ascendancy in La Vendée.

#### 14. WAR ON THE SPANISH FRONTIER.

The death of the King was not only an offence to Spain, on the ground of the close family alliance of the two Houses of Bourbon, but some circumstances of personal insult had aggravated the hostile feeling of the Catholic King against the republican government,



The representations of Charles VI. to the Convention, against the trial and condemnation of Louis XVI., had been met by a resolution to pass to the order of the day; and Danton, one of the regicides, had, on this occasion, openly declared that the policy of France was, "pour exterminer tous les rois de l'Europe." This was speedily followed up, on the 7th of March, by a declaration of war against Spain, and an army under General Servan was forthwith organized on the Pyrenean frontier. The kingdom of Spain, possessed of all the wealth of the New World, had neither fleets nor armies for military operations, offensive or defensive. The Count d'Aranda's influence, as minister, was, at this unpropitious moment, undermined by the intrigues of Godoy, now Duke d'Alcudia, and subsequently Prince of the Peace. The utmost force that could be put forth by the King, to guard the mountain frontier or to invade France, did not exceed 40,000 men, scattered over the whole extent of frontier. On the other hand, General Servan, who commanded on the Western Pyrenees, had raised some 8000 men, though with difficulty, and without shoes, or cloaks, or any of the necessaries for a campaign; but, nevertheless, with characteristic boldness, he, on the morning of the 31st of March, moved forward in two columns into the Val d'Aran against the enemy, and at the head of the first column took possession of Boussos, and came *aux prises* with a Spanish force at Viella, the chief town of the valley. A fight ensued, and the Spaniards were driven back to Foix, when, meeting with some support, they were enabled to make a stand. The Spaniards, towards the middle of April, had established 6000 men in camp at St. Martial, near Yrur, under General Don Vestura Caro. On the 30th of April this chief passed the Bidassoa and surprised the French camp at Sarre, which obliged Servan to concentrate his forces. But on the 17th of May, this General sent General Lagenetière into the valley of Roncesvalles, which threatened Altabiscar: hither Caro hastened, and drove back the republicans. The Spaniards, under the Marquis de la Romagna, then assaulted the castle of Chateau-Pignon, and after a hard contest, in which Lagenetière was taken prisoner, scaled that almost inaccessible position on the 6th of June, and captured it. Soon after this Servan was recalled, and replaced by General d'Elbée.

On the Eastern Pyrenees General Ricardos, observing the French army of invasion to be dribbled away in the possession of detached valleys in the mountains, resolved on taking the initiative and entering France by the mountain passes, between the fortress of Bellegarde and the Col de Bagnols. On the 15th of April, therefore, having entrusted to the militia the care of watching those places, he sent the Marechal del Campo Escoffet de Massanet into St. Laurens de Cerda, whence, on the 17th, he drove out the French garrison, and the next morning a division, under Major-General La Union, entered Arles, and established himself on the river Tech. The veteran General Laboulière, Governor of Perpignan, alarmed at this sudden apparition of a Spanish force in one of the French valleys, immediately ordered General Willot with 500 soldiers and 1000 volunteers to stop this inroad. They met the enemy, on the 20th of April, between Ceret

and the river; but the Spanish troops carried the bridge, in spite of opposition, and took four guns. Had Ricardos pushed on after this with 10,000 men, he might have obtained possession of Perpignan, the bulwark to France of the Eastern Pyrenees; but he thought it more prudent, as he had brought no artillery of his own across the mountains, to employ his time in making such a road as might communicate with his base of operations, and thus allowed the opportunity to escape. The delegates of the Convention, who were at Perpignan, immediately put that place into a state of defence, and appealed to the patriotism of the district to defend the menaced portion of their country. General Flers was ordered from the North to take the command of this army, with General Dagobert under him. Ricardos, finding himself, by the arrival of reinforcements, at the head of 18,000 men, marched, in the night of the 18th-19th of May, with 12,000 men from Ceret on La Boulon. The French camp was, however, on the alert, and General Flers got together his troops, and manœuvred as if he intended to attack the Spanish left. It was five in the morning when Ricardos, without paying regard to this manœuvre, moved on to the French camp about two leagues from Perpignan, and ordered the Duke d'Ossuna with four battalions of Spanish guards and six guns to pass the village of Mas del Conte, and to attack the republicans on the side of Mas d'Eu, while Lieut.-General Courteu menaced the opposite flank with three battalions of Walloon guards, fourteen squadrons, and six guns; and Marechal del Campo Villalba advanced in the centre and in support, with four battalions and six guns. Ricardos went himself at the head of his army to lead the attack, but got involved amid the deep ravines of the ground, where Dagobert did not dare to interrupt him, in consequence of the increasing danger on his right wing, where the Duke d'Ossuna had already actually penetrated the French camp. The Spanish guns, fourteen in number, were forthwith opened upon the enemy, and enabled the Spanish cavalry to debouch and charge, which would have put the French troops to the rout, had not Flers, who had hastened out of Perpignan to the assistance of his army, got his men into squares, and so kept the cavalry at bay until it had become dark, when the French troops gave way to their fears on all sides, became deaf to the appeals of their officers, and were actually fired upon with grapeshot from the walls of Perpignan, where the gates were ordered to be closed against them. After the victory, Ricardos summoned the fort of Bagnols, which surrendered after a few hours' cannonade, and he then sat down before Bellegarde, which was garrisoned by 1200 men, under Colonel Bois-brulé, who defended the place bravely for twenty days of open trenches, but finally capitulated on the 25th of June.

Ricardos now determined to attack the French camp in front of Perpignan, and, as a preliminary, sent forward the Count de la Union to possess himself of Argelès, and the Marechal del Campo Oquendo to one of the heights of the Albères, known as the Puigoriol, which commands all the three strong places of Collioure, St. Elene, and Port Vendre. The first succeeded, but the last failed, which

was of the greater importance to the Spaniards, as a squadron with provisions was thus prevented anchoring in the port. The Spanish General next made the most detailed arrangement of his forces for an onset, which was to be made with 15,000 men, with a train of artillery, in three columns, against the French camp at Mag de Roz, at three in the morning of the 13th of July. The right column, under the orders of Lieut.-General Cagigal, advanced by Niel; the centre, under the Marquis de las Amarillas, and the left, under Prince de Monforte, moved on the village of Canhoes. Generals Dagobert and Barbantane, who commanded the French, received the enemy with some hundreds of skirmishers, and Ricardos was content to maintain this species of contest for three whole days. During this interval the Spanish General reconnoitred his enemy, and formed his plan of attack, the too ambitious one of enveloping his adversary on every side, which he made on the 17th, in five columns: the right upon Poullestres, behind his enemy; the left upon Orles; the third column, under Courteu, by Thuir on Pegillas; while one column, under Marechal del Campo Hernosa, consisting of all the light infantry and cavalry, was ordered to march along the valley of the Tet, cross that river at Millas, and march on Perpignan by Corneilla and St. Estève; and the remaining column, under La Union, was to cut off all retreat of the enemy on the Gly. At first the Spaniards were successful. The French were surprised, and obliged to give way, and the Spaniards, under Cagigal, established their post on the heights of Thuir and Mas du Serre. But, as always happens in a very complicated plan of attack, some of the columns missed their way; and although the column headed by Cagigal opened some formidable batteries, which played with great effect upon the enemy for several hours, the chef-de-brigade, Lamartillière, was enabled to get together such a battery as soon began to tell and to dismount the Spanish pieces. In the meantime, the supporting columns not arriving to Cagigal's assistance, General Flers, who had carefully reconnoitred the ground, saw his opportunity, and resolved himself to make an attack. Ricardos had already withdrawn his damaged guns, when Dagobert came suddenly upon him. He immediately called up his cavalry to his assistance, who fell on the French infantry; these turned upon the cavalry with the bayonet, but unsuccessfully, and eventually gave way. The General-in-Chief then sent round Colonel Perignon with the Pyrenean legion, and the Adjutant-General Poinot was brought forward with 400 men and two guns, who ascended the mountain at Mas des Jesuites, where he was soon joined by some heavy artillery, which opened with deadly effect on the Spaniards, who were exerting themselves to get through the intrenchments at Mas du Serre. At this moment Perignon arrived on the one side, and fresh reinforcements from the village of Canhoes on the other, when the fight was renewed by Barbantane, who now animated his men by a stirring address, and fell upon the Spaniards with so furious a charge, as drove them back to Niel; so that the next day Ricardos withdrew his army, greatly cowed by this defeat, to his camp at Mas d'Eu, leaving 1000 men on the field of battle.

## 15.—INTERNAL REVOLTS—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF LYONS.

Besides the necessity of providing for the wars on the borders, the Conventional Government had formidable foes against them in the heart of France. The disturbances in La Vendée had now lighted up an opposition to the terrorist chiefs in the departments and large cities of the Republic. The government of France had become so completely a government of blood, to be sustained by the fear of the guillotine, that this formidable machine was in perpetual operation, and employed alike upon the virtuous and most innocent as upon the worst and most criminal; upon De Bailly, upon Custine, Beauharnais, and a host of generals, successful and unsuccessful; upon the infamous Duke of Orleans, as upon the exemplary Queen Marie Antoinette and the lovely Madame Roland. When this lady was brought to the scaffold, she bowed low before a statue of Liberty, exclaiming, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

A formidable confederation also threatened the south of the kingdom, where the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon were excited to an opposition to the bloody government. Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Alps, having prescribed purely defensive operations in the mountains, hastened away to act against Lyons, with half his army, having detached General Carteaux with 3600 men towards Marseilles and Toulon. He now set himself in good earnest to reduce the insurgents, already become too formidable in the second city of France. Towards the end of July therefore he appeared before Lyons with 8000 men, and a small train of artillery. Indeed, had it not been for a fortuitous incident, by which Kellermann prevented a corps of 10,000 Marseillais from effecting a junction with the volunteers of Lyons, by the intervention of General Carteaux, who encountered and totally defeated them, the whole south of France could at this time have thrown off the yoke of the Convention. The Lyonnese, however, resolved to stand upon their defence. The rebellious inhabitants were already 20,000, organized into battalions under M. de Précý, an old officer of the royal army, and ready to defend themselves. Kellermann temporized for some weeks, partly in consequence of his disproportionate means of offence, and partly in the hope of coming to terms; but the Convention, irritated at what they deemed his weakness of character, sent the ferocious Collot d'Herbois, as their commissary, to rouse their general to more energetic measures, and with the express direction that "Lyons must be rased to the ground." Accordingly 100 pieces of artillery were drawn from the arsenals of Grenoble and Besançon, and six companies of artillerymen, ten battalions of old soldiers, and two regiments of cavalry were added to the besieging corps, which was now divided into four divisions in order to undertake the investment and siege of the city. Kellermann immediately set about driving in the Lyonnese from the places they occupied on the neighbouring heights and from Pont d'Ouliers, a league distant. Had indeed M. de Précý availed himself of all the advantages

he possessed over Kellermann, whose four camps were separated from each other by the waters of the Saone and Rhone, he could have overwhelmed any one of them by an attack from the city, and he might for a long time have defied his besiegers. As it was, the ground was disputed inch by inch, and Kellermann fell into disgrace with the commissaries for the time they considered to be lost before they were enabled to carry into effect their desolating orders. The Lyonnese hoped for assistance from the allied forces and emigrant division under Condé on the side of Strasburg, as well as from the Piedmontese armies on the other side, but all these expectations failed, and a fearful bombardment was opened against the ill-fated city. The most beautiful quarters of the city were destroyed by it. The public buildings, and the Place de Bellecour and the Quai St. Clair were doomed to destruction, not even the hospitals escaped; and soon, to add to the general misery, a magazine in the arsenal exploded. During the whole of August and beginning of September the siege nevertheless had made but little progress, but by the exertions of the commissaries, the besieging force was raised by new levies to 40,000 men by the 20th of September.

Famine was soon added to the other horrors of the besieged in Lyons. As the works of the besiegers advanced they cut off the citizens from the resources of the vicinity; nevertheless, the commissaries, convinced that they were not yet vigorous enough in their efforts to reduce the town, and becoming more and more impatient, soon after the return of Kellermann deposed him from the command, which they gave to General Doppet. On the 29th of September the investment was fearfully narrowed, the bridges and the redoubts were taken possession of, and the skirmishers were within range of the town on every side. Précý did all that man could do to continue the defence, and in a charge of cavalry drove back the sharpshooters; but the chiefs of the insurrection saw clearly that no hope any longer remained for them for successful defence; some 25,000 men, with Précý, determined therefore to cut their way out of the place and retire to Switzerland. Doppet had arranged for a general assault on the 9th of October, but previously on the 8th sent in a new summons for an unconditional surrender; there was not therefore a moment to be lost; a sortie was determined on by Précý, from the fauxbourg of Vaize, but the besieging army were on the alert and fell upon them, pursued them, divided them, shot them down like wild beasts, so that only Précý and about eighty followers succeeded in making their escape. On the 10th the republican troops took possession of Lyons. The consequences to this fine city from the republican party, pillage, massacre, vengeance of the most cold-blooded character, that followed, were enough to make the coldest shudder, and is a most discreditable episode in the history of France.

There are few examples in history of any conquered city having experienced such vindictive treatment as that to which this unhappy place was now exposed from their own countrymen. Executions, pillage, arbitrary imprisonment, wholesale massacres, the ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~discreditable~~ <sup>discreditable</sup> episode in the history of France.

the torch, and the sword did their horrid work for many weeks and months after the surrender.

Toulon had been amongst the first towns that were opposed to the revolution, for it contained many naval officers attached to the old government. It was now threatened by the advance of a strong force under Carteaux, and being destitute of adequate means of defence, its people saw no alternative but to open its harbour to the British fleet under Admiral Hood, then cruising in the bay, and to proclaim the Dauphin as King. Possession of the town and port was accordingly given to the British Admiral, on the express condition that they should be returned to the French monarchy, as soon as it should be re-established; but the crews of some ships that were adverse to this arrangement were permitted to retire unmolested. Soon afterwards a Spanish squadron arrived bringing reinforcements, when the allied troops, 8000 strong, took possession of the port and all the forts commanding it.

#### 16. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.

The army of the Alps amounted to 30,000 men: they had passed the winter of 1792 in Savoy and the comté of Nice, of which they still held possession. The court of Turin had maintained itself against a further inroad towards that capital by establishing General St. André with 10,000 or 12,000 men to defend the passes of the mountains by way of Saorgio, and he now threatened Nice. General Strasoldo covered the valley of the Stura by camping near Demont with twelve battalions. General Provera was at Castelponte, in front of Chateau-Dauphin, and protected the villages of Mont Viso and the Col de l'Agnelle, watching the valleys of the Po, De la Maria, &c. General Gordon was charged to defend, with fourteen battalions, the valley of Suza. He had established a fort of sixteen guns on the pass of Mont Cenis, and his headquarters were at Suza. The Duke de Montferrat watched every descent by way of the Val d'Aoste, and had camps at Col di Monte, near the little St. Bernard, and at the lake of Combal. The capital therefore was in security.

Early in the year General Biron joined the French army of the Var with reinforcement of 5000 men, and took the command from General Brunet. He opened the campaign by attacking the outposts of General St. André, at Moulinet. Through total inexperience in mountain warfare he so separated the divisions of his army in his various manœuvres, that they found insurmountable obstacles presented to their reuniting, and losing themselves in woods and valleys in the fogs, were in succession driven back, after bivouacking a night or two in the snow, warmed and lighted only by pine torches; while the Savoyards, prepared against these common incidents on the Alps, were inured and vigilant. Thus, during the spring months of the year, Brunet, Massena, Dumerbion, and other generals, had engagements more or less important against General St. André and other Piedmontese commanders. As the summer advanced Biron was recalled to La Vendée, and General

Brunet again succeeded to the command. On the 8th of June it was determined to attack St. André, near Lauthion and Saorgio. Near this latter fort the river Roya runs in a profound ravine, on the left bank of which is situated, on an eminence, the village of that name, and on the right the rocky crests of St. Martha, which extend as far as Lauthion on their highest summits, and the Val d'Inferno. This classic ground of contest had been studded with fortifications, and was now occupied by General Colli with his brigade and that of Dellerà, and garnished on every side with artillery. At first the attack was made with such success as enabled Miackousky with his brigade to carry the intrenched camp at Lignéres, and to drive the Piedmontese back on Saorgio; but in the end General Colli overwhelmed the attack of Brunet on the camp at St. Martha, and drove the French back with a loss of some 1200 or 1500 men. The civil commissaries with the armies, who were continually counselling attacks by brute force, and threatening the unfortunate commanders with a denunciation to the government if they hesitated, now urged General Brunet to a fresh assault, the famous Barras being the most urgent; that General accordingly again advanced on the 12th to force the pass of Rauss; but General Colli, profiting by the former affair, was on the alert, and had completed all his defences, so that he gave the French a warm reception, and they were driven back with the loss of 2000 men, and were forced afterwards to remain inactive for several months. General Kellermann having on his hands the insurrections at Lyons and Toulon, could, in fact, effect nothing at this time against Italy, for no sooner had he established himself at his head-quarters at Chambéry, than he received orders on the 30th to proceed with a great part of his forces to tranquillize the territory of the Republic, and bring back Lyons and Toulon to their allegiance.

The various Italian states were at this time more or less under the protection of the fleets of Great Britain, which commanded the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Genoa had been with difficulty restrained from fraternizing with French democratic principles, and was at this time held back in a doubtful neutrality. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, on the representations of the British minister at his court, had ordered the French ambassador to quit his territories; in Corsica Paoli had raised the standard of revolt under view of some ships of war which Lord Hood had sent to him from the British squadron; while Naples and Sicily were quite passive, and ate macaroni "under their own vine and fig-tree."

#### 17. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—SIEGE OF MAYENCE.

The King of Prussia, profiting by the inaction of the French armies after Custine had been driven back into the Vosges, set himself in earnest to prepare for the siege of Mayence; but by one of those very absurd arrangements which are often found to occur in confederated armies, the fine siege-train of the Austrians had been directed to take part in the siege of Valenciennes, whilst that intended for the siege of Mayence had to be brought in a great measure out of Holland; so that a very considerable delay was occasioned by these

cross marches to both sieges, that were about to be in progress at the same time. On the 6th of April Field-Marshal Kalkreuth commenced the investment of Mayence. This fortress had been placed in a respectable state of defence by the French engineers, Doyré and Meunier: the latter the well-known author of the works at Cherbourg. Mayence stands on the left bank of the Rhine, having fourteen bastions in a semicircle, but the whole extent is commanded by the two strong detached forts of Haupstein and Charles, and by the *tête de pont* at Cassel. The garrison was in itself an army, for General Schual, as we have seen, had been unable to carry away a portion of it under his command, and accordingly 22,000 men, of whom 3000 were cavalry, were now enclosed within the enceinte, under Aubert-Dubayet, the commandant; but the villages of Weisenau and Zühlbach, beyond it, were also occupied, so as to impede as much as possible the first approaches of the enemy.

As early as the 11th of April a considerable sortie was made under General Kleber, to surprise a corps of 10,000 Hessians under General Schoenfeld, at Biberich, but it failed altogether in its object. On the 14th, Kalkreuth completed the investment, and established his head-quarters at Marienborn. The entire blockading force consisted of fifty-seven battalions and forty squadrons, and no time was now lost in placing it within lines of circumvallation.

On the 26th the King of Prussia was surprised by the arrival of a flag of truce from General Custine, commanding in chief the army of the Rhine, offering to surrender Mayence, if the garrison were allowed free egress with all its materiel. To this astounding proposition, however, it was found that the subordinate generals of the garrison, as also the representatives Merlin and Rewbell, who were in the place with the troops, would not agree; accordingly the preparations for the siege continued.

On the night of the 30th of May the besieged determined on a powerful sortie of 6000 men upon the head-quarters at Marienborn. They had become apprised that permission had been given to the peasantry to pass through the investing force, in order to gather in their harvest on the ground enclosed between the two armies; in the obscurity, the two battalions of Saintonge and De Beauvoisis were allowed to pass the outposts, as though they were the peasants passing to their work, and thus actually carried the first outworks; but the alarm of firing soon brought troops to the rescue, and the French were driven back with loss. The bombardment on the devoted place was now resumed with increased vigour, and Meunier, who commanded at Cassel, chafing under this fire and at the loss it occasioned among his men, sallied out on the night of the 12th of June, in a boat upon the river, which being recognized by the Prussians, a fire of all arms was opened upon it, in which a cannon-shot struck the General on the leg, who died after amputation the next day. As soon as his death was known to the King, his Majesty ordered a truce from all the batteries until the funeral; and when they were again opened, it was with one grand salvo to the honoured memory of this highly distinguished officer and engineer. The



Duke of Brunswick, with his head-quarters at Edickhofen, was in the field commanding the covering army against the endeavours of the French General to intercept the siege. Custine had been summoned away to command Dumouriez's army after his defection and the death of Dampierre; but before he quitted his command, he thought he had an opportunity of leaving to his companions in arms a glorious souvenir of himself by making a *coup de main* on Wurmser's division, placed in front of Landau, between the mountains and the river, and divided by the loftiest ridge of the Vosges from Prince Hohenlohe's corps at Landstul and Zweibrücken. Accordingly, on the 17th of May, after sending some 5000 or 6000 men under Houchard towards the Carlsberg, he himself with an advanced guard under Landremont advanced from Weissenbourg on the high road to Landau, while General Ferrière proceeded from Lauterburg with 6000 or 7000 men on Rilsheim. To make the movement more imposing, General Chambarlhac with 1500 men was ordered to the Rhine at Fort Louis, to look after any enemy in that quarter, if he could find one. Ferrière on debouching from the woods was received so well by the Prussians under Viomenil, that he could never reach Rilsheim, and Custine on reaching Ottersheim without success and not seeing Ferrière's advance, was assailed by the brigade of Hotze and part of Condé's army, and forced to return rapidly to Weissenbourg. He left the brigade of Hatry at Barbelroth, to support Ferrière, who, but for the exertions of General d'Hilliers and the efforts of his cavalry, could scarcely have got back in safety to Jockrim. The garrison at Landau, who made a sortie to aid this complicated movement, hastened to get back into the place as quick as possible; and Chambarlhac never accomplished the construction of his bridge nor got a man across the river. The whole thing was a failure, and Custine, humbled and disgusted, lost no time in repairing to his new post at Cambrai, leaving his army under the provisional command of General Beauharnais. General Wurmsen hastened to place the river Queich between him and the enemy, glad to have escaped this surprise at so small a sacrifice.

It was the middle of June before the determination was arrived at, as to the side on which to direct the operations of the siege of Mayence. Colonel de Lahr was charged with the direction of it, but there was much division of opinion as to the most eligible plan. It was at length resolved to advance the attack on the right side, between Weisenau and Zahlbach. An endeavour was therefore made to open ground on the 16th of June, at 800 paces from the most advanced works, but the endeavour absolutely failed, and a new attempt was obliged to be made on the 18th, at 1500 paces. Some ridicule was thrown on so distant an attack, and the name of *arrière-parallèle* was given to this cautious advance. A force of 5600 workmen soon carried this to a development of nearly 1000 paces, and on the 19th some batteries were already armed, and began to throw projectiles on the town; attempts were made to dislodge the French troops which had fortified themselves in the village, but after one or two failures, it was the 28th before Weisenau was carried, and the

night of the 5th-6th of July before General Kleist carried the redoubt of the Zahlbach and levelled it. Then the first parallel was made complete, and on the 8th the zigzags were carried on to the second, which was established at 400 paces from the covered way. On the 16th the magazine of the French blew up and a quantity of forage was destroyed, which, as supplies had now begun to fail, was severely felt by the besieged. On the same night an outwork was carried by assault, under the command of Prince Louis of Prussia, who displayed an heroic courage in the attack, and was severely wounded. At length twenty batteries, mounted with upwards of 200 pieces of artillery, were established against the place, and it became a serious question in the town whether the defence could be any longer continued. Such was the distress for food, that the Governor invited his friends to a dinner, of which the principal dish was "*un beau chat entouré d'un cordon de souris*." The garrison was, however, still 18,000 strong, too many to feed or to starve; accordingly proposals were made for a surrender, which were accepted on the 22nd. Great exertions had, however, been made for the deliverance of Mayence, which was in fact so near at hand, that a cry of indignation arose through France on hearing of the capitulation. The republican generals were accused of having received Prussian money, and the Governor, Aubert-Dubayet, was forthwith conducted by gendarmes to Paris, and the engineer, Doyré, arrested at Sarre. Saar-Louis and several towns refused to receive the garrison, who were marched off in all haste to La Vendée, where, according to the terms of surrender, they were available to be employed. Although the Convention had urged upon their generals the value they set upon the preservation of so important a bulwark as Mayence, and had assembled at the commencement of June a force of 60,000 men, under Beauharnais, and 30,000 under Houchard, yet, from one cause of delay or another, it was the 18th of July before these troops advanced to the Queich on the one side, or to Zweibrücken on the other. The Duke of Brunswick was uneasy as to the prospect of affairs; he had placed the corps of Prince Hohenlohe strongly intrenched at Ramstein and Landstuhl, and had detached Zekuly to occupy the Carlsberg. Divisions of his army also occupied Kaiserslautern, Tripstadt, and Edickhofen, thus connecting him with the Austrian contingent of Wurmser, who was at Germesheim watching Landau. The Duke by these means effectually guarded the two great passes over the Vosges, that led to Mayence by Lautreck and Tuschheim; and with his head-quarters at Edickhofen, with a reserve, anxiously awaited the movements of the enemy, and the progress of the siege. On the 18th the French were in motion, and on the 19th had broken up on both sides of the mountains, advancing both from the camp at Pirmasens, and from Landau on Muschbach. The same day the Duke withdrew Hohenlohe's corps further back towards the Lauter, upon the advance of Houchard across the Blies. On the 20th the post at Liemen was attacked, but gallantly defended by Colonel Sanitz. On the 22nd the right advance of the French drove the Prussians back to Neustadt,

after some fighting at Burweiler and the chapel of Weyer, and the left under Houchard gained the banks of the Glau near Cassel, whence he threatened a descent on the valley of the Nape by way of Lautreck, when the news reached both armies of the capitulation of Mayence; they accordingly rested on their arms for a day or two; when on the 27th Wurmsier thinking to cut off the enemy in their retreat advanced along the valley, but in a few days the French army fell back to their old positions. Beauharnais paid with his head for this dilatory and fruitless endeavour to save the garrison of Mayence.

#### 18. SURRENDER OF CONDÉ AND VALENCIENNES.

After the affair at Famars measures were taken to maintain the blockade of Condé, and at the same time to undertake the siege of Valenciennes. With this view a corps of 30,000 men was advanced to watch the enemy from the side of Bouchain and Douay. General Latour with twelve battalions faced towards Quesnoy and Barry, while the Prussians resumed their ground about Orchies, and the Prince of Orange with the Dutch took post at Tournay. The Duke of Wirtemberg maintained the blockade of Condé with eleven battalions, and to the Duke of York was entrusted the siege of Valenciennes; he placed his head quarters at Estreu, having his own corps of British and Hanoverians to his left hand, and to his right thirteen Austrian battalions with twelve squadrons under General Ferrari. A siege-train of 180 pieces of artillery under the Generals Kollowrath and Unterberger had already arrived from Vienna; and the United Provinces furnished on requisition 107 more with ample ammunition, 1000 rounds for the cannon and 600 shot and shell for the mortars. Valenciennes was garrisoned with 10,000 men under General Ferrand, a veteran of seventy-two years of age; and Briest and Cochon remained in the besieged place as commissaries of the Convention. The inhabitants of the city were organized for internal police, and with the national guard assisted in the defences. The town is seated on the Scheldt, which flows through it in several branches, adding much to the strength of the defences by means of wet ditches and inundations. The side selected for the attack rested its right on the upper stream, crossing the two high roads to Mons and Maubeuge, and having its left on the Fauxbourg de Marlis, to which point the inundations from the lower river and the Ronelle can be directed. The fauxbourg itself was defended by a division under General Beauregard, who threw up some intrenchments for the protection of his men, and answered stoutly to the summons addressed to him on the 26th of May, that he would defend them; but, after five hours' sharp fighting, his intrenchments were knocked to pieces, and he could scarcely get away his artillery, in his haste to retreat into the city. The battering guns were forthwith brought forward, with the intention of opening fire on the works during the day, and making a bombardment of red-hot shot during the night, thus fatiguing both the troops and the inhabitants within the town, who were known to be without casemates. A strong hornwork, called "of Mons," was to be the point assailed, and in the night of the 13th—14th of June, the first parallel was

opened at 280 toises from the salient of the demilune of this outwork. The place was summoned on the 14th, and Ferrand returned for all reply a copy of the proces-verbal of the oath taken to defend it, which had been publicly taken a few days previously in the grand place of the city. On the 15th the first parallel was completed with fifteen batteries; on the 17th a sortie was made against the trenches, but such a fire of all arms was directed upon the assailants, that they retreated with all haste to the place, but the French papers at Paris magnified the attack into a great victory. The Duke commanded the batteries to open on the 18th, and the fire soon silenced that of the besieged, and became in a short time so hot and relentless, that the inhabitants rose against the commissaries, and nearly pulled Cochon to pieces. The soldiers of the garrison were obliged to act against the inhabitants in defence of these men; but with great tact gave up to the townsmen every place of shelter or security, whilst they made their bivouac in the most exposed places. This generous conduct established confidence and order, and overcame all further dissent.

The second parallel commenced on the 19th, and was fully armed on the 25th, on which day and for four days subsequently such a fire was maintained from two in the morning till ten at night, that when at length it ceased for a time, the affrighted inhabitants came out from their shelters to breathe a moment's freedom, but in a short time the batteries were reopened, and the poor people were driven back in the utmost trepidation. The city, rich and flourishing at the commencement of the siege, was already sadly ruined and dismantled by the bombardment. Fires broke out repeatedly, and as soon as they were observed by the besiegers, the firing was wholly directed upon those quarters of the city, to prevent their extinction. The great church of St. Nicholas was burned; the arsenal was consumed; no one could avert the destruction for fear of their lives. The inhabitants were again on the verge of revolt, and implored Ferrand to surrender, but he gave them hopes of relief from the army of the North, General Custine having now arrived to take the command; and a poor fellow who was now knocked on the head by a grenade died exclaiming, "Ah, Custine! quand viendras tu nous venger?"

On the 28th the third parallel was established by the flying sap, and armed by the 7th of July; and now it became necessary to use caution in the explosion by counter mines of that portion of the rampart that was mined. The besiegers were encouraged on the 12th by news of the surrender of Condé, and on the 22nd by the surrender of Mayence. Thus perseveringly continuing their advance, it was determined to assault the covered way on the 25th, and three attacks of 900 men each were prepared for this by ten o'clock at night; the first, consisting of British and Hanoverians, under General Abercrombie, was directed against the left re-entering angle of the hornwork; the second column, consisting of Austrians, commanded by Lieut.-General Erbach, advanced against the ravelin; and the third was of Imperialists under General Wenckheim, who

assailed the Lunette de St. Sauve, on the side of the river. The signal for the assault was the explosion of three globes of compression; the first and second exploded with the ruin of the salient angle of the covered way, when two bodies of the defenders were blown into the air; the third blew in the salient angle of the ravelin. The first and second columns rushed, at this signal, out of the sap, which had advanced to within a small distance from the crest of the glacis, and arrived together at the palisades. The explosions had so cleared away the defenders, that they got in without difficulty, but came upon a fresh stream of the enemy in the covered way, who after a severe contest abandoned the hornwork and all the outworks. The third column were exposed to a murderous fire, and even to the explosion of some mines on the glacis, but they threw themselves gallantly into the ravelin, and drove the enemy almost to the gate of Mons. While these assaults were in progress General Kray assaulted the redoubts of St. Roch and Noirmutton, but after succeeding in this he contented himself with spiking the guns and retiring with little loss. The Duke now again summoned the place, and Ferrand demanded a delay of twenty-four hours for consideration, which was granted him. The commissaries would have required a longer defence, but the inhabitants would hear of no delay, and at length a deputation was sent out to the Duke to surrender, and his Royal Highness addressing them said, "Messieurs, il est bien tard, et je ne voulais pas vous écouter à présent." However, after some discussion, the capitulation was signed on the 28th, when, after a siege of forty-five days, 7000 men marched out with the honours of war, on an assurance not to serve against the allied armies. Having laid down their arms on the glacis, this strong reinforcement was immediately marched off, like the garrisons that had capitulated, to La Vendée and to Toulon, as it was deemed within the terms that they might take arms against their own countrymen. Valenciennes had suffered horribly; 84,000 shot and 68,000 shell had been vomited upon it for forty-three days. A great part of the fortifications, as well as large quarters of the town, were in ruins; 6500 of the defenders perished, and the besiegers lost also considerably. It has been questioned with what propriety the Austrian flag was raised over the captured citadels of Valenciennes and Condé; it was an impolitic proceeding, as evidencing a desire of conquest, and was not calculated to reconcile the French to further negotiation. It is known to have had a very injurious effect in La Vendée.

#### 19. THE ALLIES ADVANCE ON CAMBRAY.

Custine, on arriving at the Camp of Cæsar, found his army in the greatest confusion, and only half clothed; divisions of disciplined troops which had been sent off to La Vendée had been replaced by new levies; and although his whole force amounted to 40,000 men, he found that the best use he could make of the moment was to discipline his recruits to the first principles of action, rather than to take the field to make an attempt for the relief of the place. His bloody masters, however, thought differently: as soon as the fall of

Condé was made known at Paris; he was summoned from the army and committed to prison, and when news of the surrender of Valenciennes had arrived, he was put upon his trial and guillotined on the 28th of August.

After the capture of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mayence, it might have been thought that a good base of operations was established for the advance of the allied armies upon Paris; but in those times the system of military strategy was different from what it is now; it was thought unsafe to leave any fortified place upon the communications of an army, and certainly many very important fortresses remained still in the possession of the enemy. However, it is said that between Lille and Bâle there were now not less than 280,000 soldiers of the confederate forces, so that by moving them forward in two columns, one from Valenciennes by way of Soissons, and the other from Mayence by way of Rheims, it would only have required fifteen days to have brought a force far greater than any that could be opposed to it under the walls of Paris. Moreover, the government was held in no respect and disunited; the troops were every where undisciplined and discouraged, scattered and with no commander of name or influence to reunite and lead them. It would be unfair to doubt the disposition of the Duke of Coburg and the Duke of Brunswick to make for the capital, for the former put himself in motion in the right direction, when he set forward to try his success against the French army opposed to him, which now, after the withdrawal of Custine, was under the command of General Kilmaine, and still occupied the famous Camp of Cæsar behind Cambray, on the range of heights between St. Olle and Paillancour, where he had thrown up some slight intrenchments.

On the 6th of August the whole allied army was in motion, and the Duke of York's corps, consisting of 22,000 men, marched on Villers en Cauchie, having General Dalling with the Hessians between him and Quesnoy. On the following day he crossed the Scheldt, in the evening, to the heights opposite Manieres. The day was intensely hot, so that many men died on the march, and the 15th light dragoons, in advance under Lieut.-Colonel Churchill, took the regiment to the river near Mairechin, to water their horses. While thus employed, the Lieut.-Colonel espied some of the enemy's cavalry, and without waiting for the support of the 16th, he instantly charged and drove them back with great loss, killing and wounding many, and taking two officers and sixty men and horses, with the loss to himself of only two men wounded. Lieut.-Colonel Colloredo marched on the 7th with one column of the Imperial army upon Naves; and the second, under Clairfait, encamped the same night on the banks of the Scheldt, near Thuns St. Martin. Kilmaine, too prudent to compromise his force with such superior numbers, resolved to withdraw at once from his strong position and take up one further back, in order to maintain his communications with Douay, so that at break of day on the 8th the French troops were in motion. The Duke of York was early on his march to turn the republicans' right, but on reaching Cantain, he found the enemy decamped and quitting

the column, himself pushed on in pursuit to Bourlon with about 3000 British horse, consisting of the greys, blues, Enniskillens, three regiments of dragoon guards, and four of light dragoons, and came up with two battalions of the enemy who had decamped from Tournai l'Evêque on the advance of the Austrians, and had wandered to Marquion. They were instantly driven into the village, and must have been forced to surrender, but that Kilmaine, informed of their danger, promptly came up with some light cavalry and guns, with which he released his troops and pursued his retreat. But the alarm created by the arrival of the British cavalry in pursuit, raised a cry of *sauve qui peut* in the retreating column, which fled in disorder to the gates of Arras, whither no enemy followed them. They thence proceeded to their new camp at Gavarelle, where General Houchard arrived on the 13th, to take the supreme command of this army. Cæsar's camp was occupied by an Austrian force, who immediately sent in a summons to General Delaye, the Governor of Cambray. The Governor made this smart reply: "Je n'ai qu'une réponse à vous faire, Général; celle que je ne sais pas me rendre, mais que je sais bien me battre."

## 20. THE ALLIED ARMIES SEPARATE.

The Duke of Coburg had now with him the Austrian divisions of Clairfait, Colloredo, Lilien, Wenckheim, and Erbach, numbering 50,000 men. The Duke of York had another 50,000, composed of British, Dutch, and Hanoverians. The enemy had shown no disposition to fight, even in Cæsar's camp, and must have had very little expectation of maintaining themselves either in Cambray or Bouchain, yet from some unaccountable cause, the allies, having made a formal movement as far as Marquion, now held a council of war, at which it was determined that they should form two armies, and that the British force under the Duke of York should act independently of the Austrians; a proposition very strongly opposed, as it is said, by the Prince of Coburg. Instead, therefore, of making any further advance into France, the British broke up from their camp and marched on the 14th of August on their backward route to Dunkirk, while 45,000 Imperialists sat down before Quesnoy: for Cambray, after having been needlessly summoned, was immediately quitted unheeded, and even a disaster that befell Bouchain (where the sluices were broken on the 6th, thus depriving it of the defences obtained through the power of inundations) was taken no advantage of; but the opportunity thus lost to the allies was immediately rendered available for the French, who put all the works into thorough repair.

## 21. CARNOT WAR MINISTER OF FRANCE—HIS CHARACTER.

At the beginning of June the French Republic underwent a new phase, which in its consequences materially affected the progress and results of the war. On the 10th the Girondist combination was dissolved; and on the 10th of August the Convention declared a new constitution, by which the whole power of the State was

concentrated in the hands of a few popular leaders, called the Committee of Public Safety. At the head of the military department was placed Carnot, a man whose extraordinary talents and resolute character contributed more than any other circumstance to the great change that now took place in the conduct and success of the republican armies. He had been brought up a military engineer, and had been publicly crowned as the most successful competitor for an éloge on Vauban in 1784. He had always been an ardent admirer of the writings of antiquity, and had lived much with the heroes of Plutarch, by which he had become particularly enamoured of the stoical virtues of Fabricius, whose simplicity of manners and integrity he desired to emulate: by such studies as these he became the most sincere republican of France, but with the moral purity that he wished to obtain he associated a character cold, hard, inflexible, and indifferent to blood. He was proscribed by his countrymen on the 18th of Fructidor, but although he was recalled by the first Consul in 1799, the continued departure of Bonaparte from his cherished republican principles, which he now witnessed, disgusted him. He sought and obtained his dismissal, and subsequently gave himself up to literary pursuits until the invasion of France by the allies, when he received from Napoleon the command of Antwerp, which he held until that Emperor's abdication. He offered to serve, but was not employed during the hundred days.

## 22. THE PRINCE OF COBURG BESIEGES AND TAKES QUESNOY.

The Austrians, after the departure of the Duke of York, invested Quesnoy with eighteen battalions and ten squadrons. Count d'Erbach and Wrenckheim cleared the fort of Mormal of the enemy's divisions, while Colloredo watched their camp at Landrecy, and another corps d'armée faced Cambray and Bouchain. The Duke of Coburg established his head-quarters at Bernerain. General Clairfait undertook the siege. The trenches were opened on the night of the 28th-29th of August, and after fifteen days of ordinary siege work, and a heavy cannonade, it was surrendered by General Gouler on the 11th of September, and 4000 men became prisoners. At the very moment of surrender, however, an endeavour was being made to raise the siege, but it was two days too late. On the 12th General Ihler from Landrecy, supported by an advance of 10,000 men on the side of Maubeuge, marched towards the forest of Mormal, and the garrison of Maubeuge under General Cloye advanced against Colloredo on the same night, but owing to delays it was day-break before Ihler reached Fontaine, where, ignorant of the fall of Quesnoy, he at once made an attack upon the Austrians, which they found little difficulty in repelling, though the village was set on fire and taken and retaken several times, but at length remained to the Austrians. The garrison of Cambray, numbering 6000 or 7000 men, advanced at the same time against the Prince of Lichtenstein at Villiers en Cotechie. Here, on the plains of Avesnes-le-Sec, occurred a brilliant cavalry charge led on by General Bellegarde, in which the regiment of Kinaky, supported on the right by the hussars of



the Emperor, and on the left by two squadrons of Nassau, broke and destroyed a square of French infantry, of which 1500 were killed, and as many taken prisoners.

### 23. THE DUKE OF YORK LAYS SIEGE TO DUNKIRK—AFFAIR AT LINCELLES.

The Duke of York had commenced his march on the 10th of August, in two columns, through Marchiennes and Tourcoin, and these were proceeding very leisurely to Menin on the 18th, when to their surprise a violent cannonade was heard in the direction of Lincelles. The Prince of Orange, who was stationed here with his corps, had been annoyed by the close position of the enemy, and determined to take advantage of the opportunity of the Duke's passing army to attack the French that morning. He had obtained possession of the post without much loss, but about midday the republicans to the number of 6000 or 7000 returned to the attack, and drove out the two Dutch battalions that defended Lincelles and took from them four pieces of artillery. Major-General Lake was accordingly directed with three battalions of British guards to retake the village. The French, never idlers in matters of war, immediately intrenched themselves; but the British, indifferent at such an advantage to an enemy, as once dashed at them. The republicans, accustomed to the cold, lifeless attacks of their opponents, were amazed at the spirit and intrepidity of the British cheering charge, which carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet in a second, notwithstanding a most terrible fire of grape and small arms. The French, 4000 or 5000 strong, re-formed behind the village, and kept up a smart fire on Lake's division, but did not again come forward; the British accordingly attacked them a second time, with the like impetuosity, when they immediately gave way, leaving behind them twelve pieces of artillery; but the British lost Lieut.-Colonel Bosville commanding the Coldstream guards, as it was said, in consequence of his extraordinary height; he was six feet four inches high, and was struck in the forehead. The Dutch, when they retreated from the place, had retired by a different road from that by which the British advanced, and were therefore ignorant of the affair of the guards, but they were thoroughly ashamed of their conduct when they afterwards heard the result. The Prince of Waldeck, who commanded at Menin, came generously forward to the guards as they passed through Menin the next day, and exclaimed, "Your glory is our shame." An historian of the time speaks of this affair "as the most brilliant exploit which happened in the course of the campaign," and of "the judgment, decision, and intrepidity" of the commander, afterwards so distinguished.

On the 20th of August the Duke divided his army into two separate corps d'armée, of which the one under Marshal Freytag was to attack the siege of Dunkirk, with eighteen battalions and thirty-two squadrons, which took post between Poperinghe and Breda. The other corps intended for the works of the siege passed through Ypres to Furnes; it consisted of twenty-eight battalions and

squadrons. Immense preparations had been made for the attack of a town which had long been an object of maritime jealousy to Great Britain; eleven new battalions had been embarked in the Thames, to reinforce the besieging army, together with a strong flotilla to batter from the side of the sea, and all the appurtenances of a most complete siege-train. But although the Duke was not quite as quick in his march as he might have been, he anticipated the arrival of these expected auxiliaries, for not a vessel appeared from the sea-ward even to protect the army from the harassing cannonade, of eight gun-boats, commanded by Captain Castaigner, which commanded the approach along the shore. His Royal Highness therefore, eager to advance against the enemy, determined on the 22nd to attack the camp at Gyvilde, situated between the harbour and the salt lake, called Long Moere, that lay on the shore road from Furnes to Dunkirk. General Alvinzi with the Austrian contingent was in march at two o'clock, and the rest of the army at three, but the long detour required for Alvinzi's line of march afforded time for the enemy to get away into the town; and on the morning of the 23rd the camp was found deserted, but Fort Louis was stormed by the Austrians, and the Duke occupied the ground he desired for the siege.

His Royal Highness at once summoned the place, which was defended by General O'Mara, who had prepared for a vigorous resistance, by opening the dikes and inundating the country round. However, nothing had yet arrived from England; and what could have retarded the bombarding flotilla, even if the rest of the equipment was delayed, was altogether a mystery. The besiegers were accordingly driven to use such means as they had at hand, and seven batteries were marked out. On the 21th the outposts were driven further in, and the gardens about Rosendaal cleared of the enemy. The assailants advanced through deep ditches full of water, and strong double hedges, and forced back the garrison into the town; at the same moment the garrison made a very strong sortie, and the Duke of York observing this, brought up the whole of his force, who met the enemy on the sides of the Dunes, when they found themselves exposed to a murderous fire, as well from the ramparts and troops in front, as from the gun-boats at sea; but the British and Hessian troops advanced in the teeth of grape and musketry, and drove the French back to the very crest of the glacis. In this affair General d'Alton, an officer much esteemed in the Austrian army, and Lieut.-Colonel Eld, of the guards, were killed. The Duke, after this, threw up lines of vallation to restrain any further sorties on this side, and a couple of batteries were also thrown up, to check the approach of the gun-boats from the side of the "Rade;" Freytag at the same time kept in awe all the approaches from his side. The siege, which began with some success, soon wore a very dubious appearance, and two weeks were consumed, during which but very tardy operations were carried forward; nevertheless on the 27th, a portion of the long-expected fleet from England came up the road and disembarked some artillery and ammunition for the siege, and on the 30th Admiral Macbride had a conference with the Duke; the same day

the site of the first parallel was fixed at 350 toises from the body of the place, but the siege-guns could not be brought up to the camp till the 2nd or 3rd of September. The town itself had been only partially invested, the communications on the side of Berques being still open, by which supplies and reinforcements continually arrived in the town, and sorties became of daily occurrence.

#### 24. BATTLE OF HONDSCHOOTE.

While time was thus lavished before the trenches of Dunkirk, General Houchard, who had been sent to succeed General Kilmaine in the command of the army of the North, was taking active measures to succour the place. The celebrated Carnot was in the French camp, giving his energies and his patriotism to this army, as a commissary of the convention, and General Jourdain was despatched from the camp at Cassel with 10,000 men to interrupt the besiegers; while General Souham, with the young Hoche as adjutant-general, was entrusted with the command of the garrison instead of O'Mara, who was suspected of an understanding with the British.

On the 5th of September, as Colonel Moncrieff, the British engineer, was arming the batteries, an alarm was given of a sortie from the town at midday: the guard of the trenches succeeded in driving back the assailants, but the alarm of these sorties so much increased, that the covering army of Freytag could not receive the reinforcement he now required, which was, in truth, the object of them. The Marshal's force occupied the village of Hondschoote and the heights of Bambecke, overhanging the Yser, which flanked his left wing, his right rested on the Long Moere. On the 6th, at break of day, the French army, reinforced by the greater part of the troops from the camps at Gaverelle and Madelaine, broke up from Cassel, and at nightfall attacked, in unison with the garrison, both the besieging corps and the covering army of Freytag. General Hedouville, with an advanced guard of about 10,000 men, marched rapidly by Houtkerche ou Rouxbrugge, while a division under Jourdain moved on the left of this column to Herzele, and another on its right to Poperinghe; another column under Landria moved further on the left to Wormhout, to keep in check Walmoden, who occupied the allied right, behind the Yser, Jourdain and Hedouville having carried Herzele, crossed the Yser at Rouxbrugge, and two battalions of Hanoverians driven out of Poperinghe retreated to Vlaemertinghe, with the Austrian division at Reningsel. Sending a strong division in pursuit of these, Jourdain advanced to Bambecke; other troops crossed the rivulet at Crustaete. At the same time heard that Walmoden was pressed at Wormhout, and of the occupation of Rouxbrugge, and fearing for Walmoden's retreat on Hondschoote, he sent forward a corps to meet them, but they found Jourdain already there; General Fagel nevertheless persevered, when suddenly they were enveloped by a body of French cavalry, who coming quickly upon them, Marshal Freytag and Prince Adolphus (afterwards Duke of Cambridge) prisoners: hannily Colonel Mylius with the Hanoverians.

guard came up, attacked the French, and rescued the Prince, who was also slightly wounded. Night was now coming on, when Walmoden, hearing of the arrest of his superior, determined on an effort to recover the Field-Marshal, rallied the troops and came down upon the French in Rexpoede, and by dint of great exertions he drove out the republicans, and Houchard, fearful of a night conflict, withdrew to Bambecke. Freytag, again at liberty, immediately ordered a retreat of all his force, and established himself in the position at Hondschoote. The garrison of Dunkirk made an attack on the right wing of the Duke of York's army the same afternoon, receiving much assistance from their gun-boats in the roads, which annoyed the troops very much, but before sunset the French were driven back. The contest did not last above three hours, but the 14th regiment suffered considerably, and Colonel Moncrieff, the chief engineer, received a mortal wound in the conflict. On the 7th the French sent Landrin's division to reinforce the garrison of Dunkirk. The Duke of York continued the siege, guarding well his lines of circumvallation, which defended him from every advance of the enemy; the position at Hondschoote was also intrenched and guarded by fresh earthworks, and General Houchard appeared very irresolute as to his further endeavours to raise the siege of Dunkirk; but his staff officers and the civil commissaries urged him so much to make another attack, that even against his own inclination he prepared for it on the morrow.

On the morning of the 8th the whole French force advanced to a general attack against the allies in position at Hondschoote. General Hedouville commanded the right attack, and General Jourdain that of the centre, while Colonel Leclerc was directed to move from Berques on the left, to endeavour to get between the enemy's flank and the Long Moere; here he encountered the regiment of Brentano and the Hessians, who only retreated before him after some sharp fighting; General Cockenhausen in command of them was killed. Vandamme, leading the advanced guard under Jourdain, advanced in the centre to the attack of Hondschoote, and a heavy support was expected to aid him from both flanks. They succeeded after considerable opposition in establishing themselves on the slope in front of the village, and at the same instant Leclerc arrived with what was called the *gendarmérie à pied de Paris*, a corps composed of the *gamins de Paris*—dare-devil fellows, without much discipline or control, but who stopped at nothing, and now carried the intrenchments in spite of all opposition. Freytag having been incapacitated by his wound, Walmoden was in command, and now ordered a retreat across the canal of Loo, taking up a new position *en crochet*, to cover the besieging army; his right at Bulscamp, and his left on the canal in front of Steenkerche. But while these things were in progress, the Duke of York was attacked by the garrison (strengthened by Landrin's reinforcement) at Rosendaal, where Hoche led the regiments of Sztarray and de Jordis with great gallantry. Although, in effect, no advantage was obtained from this, excepting that it prevented any assistance being sent by his Royal Highness to Wal-

moden's army, yet, now finding the enemy advancing upon him in greater force, and hearing from the covering army of their retreat, the Duke, at four in the afternoon, ordered all the tents and baggage to be sent off to Furnes, and at night called a council of war, who determined that the rear being now compromised, the siege must be raised without a thought for the heavy siege-guns, which were to be left behind in the works; accordingly the army moved off in the night of the 8th—9th of September, and reached their former camp at Furnes by ten o'clock. \* Two battalions of British guards under General Lake were immediately sent off to reinforce Walmoden, who was posted near Dixmude, and to General Abercrombie was entrusted the defence of Furnes, the whole army being again reunited under the Duke of York. The French directed their march on Ypres, which they bombarded without much serious effect for thirty-six hours, Baron de Salis replying with spirit and keeping his small garrison on the alert; he even made a sortie with the regiment of Stuart and three guns, with some hussars, who came upon the republicans as they withdrew from the place and made two officers and some men prisoners. Finding no opportunity of making head against the Duke of York, Houchard turned rapidly back to attack the Prince of Orange with the Dutch army, who by these proceedings had become altogether isolated at Menin. On the 12th General Hedouville attacked the Prince of Hesse at Wervicke, when, after a sharp contest, in which the Prince was wounded, the French gained the posts of Lincelles, Roncq, and Halluin; at the same time a division from the garrison of Lille fell upon the Prince of Orange, with the main body, who, however, stood his ground, and even sent two battalions under Prince Frederick to retake Wervicke, which he succeeded in doing; but on the following day Hedouville, advancing from Commines threw himself with such force on the Prince of Orange's line of retreat on Ypres, that notwithstanding the arrival of General Kray with a corps of Austrians to his aid, he was obliged to withdraw, and Prince Frederick was wounded in the contest. On the 13th General Bern with three columns got possession of Menin, and drove the brigade of Wartensleben out of that town, who then retired on Morseele. The Dutch were, in fact, on this occasion, contending a brigades against a whole army, and escaped with some loss to a position behind the Heule, extending from Courtray to Ypres.

The loss to the French in killed and wounded in all these affairs was very considerable, and quite equal to that of the allies. At Hondschoote there were one 3000 killed, wounded, and taken on either hand; and in these latter affairs the Dutch lost 2000 or 3000, with forty pieces of cannon. The British lost also thirty-two siege-guns, but not many men, as they were not greatly engaged, and they saved their military chest, with their stores and baggage. But the Duke of York wrote his government to complain in the most indignant terms of the neglect in the departments of the Admiralty and Ordnance, by which his army had been jeopardised, and some high dismissals occurred in consequence of his representa-

tations; for it would appear that the expected shipment never quitted the British shores. The Duke having again assembled his forces, advanced some battalions under Count d'Erbach, preceded by Harcourt's brigade of cavalry, towards Menin, who arrived on the 15th, too late to assist the Prince of Orange in an attack made on him, but opportunely, just as Houchard was on the point of attacking Beaulieu, near Bisseghem. The Austrian General, on receiving this reinforcement, sent forward a corps of cavalry against the left flank of his adversaries, and drove them across the Lys, so that the enemy fled in great alarm and left guns and baggage behind them, but got to Menin, Austrians and French together; for just as D'Erbach's column arrived at the gate of Cambray with four battalions and six squadrons, Beaulieu's troops, flushed with victory, got to the gate of Thourout, and pushed the flying enemy through the town: the cavalry now got in amongst them, cut many hundreds to pieces, took many prisoners, and it was the momentary firmness of a rearguard that enabled the French at length to reach the camp at Madelaine, near Lille, in safety. The Duke of York advanced the following day through Menin to Cysoing, but the Prince of Coburg recalled Beaulieu to Bavay, ordering the Dutch to come to him also; thus leaving the Duke of York's corps to defend Flanders alone, His Royal Highness placed his head-quarters at Tournay.

#### 25. THE SUCCESSFUL GENERAL HOUCHARD GUILLOTINED.

We know that Carnot was present and took part in these affairs, and it is to be presumed that it was on his report to the Directory that Houchard, notwithstanding his success, was arrested and sent to Paris. On the 25th he was brought before the Convention, and it will be useful to recite the address made to him by the deputy Barrère on the occasion, because it enunciates the principle, now first put forward (as it is thought by the vigorous genius of the war minister), which, as it was followed by the French armies and repudiated by the allies, will seem to explain the different results which from this period followed the contending forces. "The great principle of war," said Barrère to the General, "established by Frederick and every great leader, has been to mass forces and not to scatter strength: you, on the contrary, have made war with forces scattered and divided, which could be beat in detail by being opposed to superior numbers. We have seen this evil—we have written to our generals only to move in masses." "Ils ne l'ont pas fait—vous avez eu des revers." Houchard, accordingly, although successful at Hondshoote, having allowed himself to be defeated in the subsequent operations against Beaulieu, was condemned and guillotined on November the 15th. The constant sacrifice of the generals in command had not encouraged men to aspire to so dangerous an elevation, but it was almost as hazardous in those days to decline an honour as to accept it. General Jourdain, who had been but a chef de bataillon at the commencement of this campaign, was now selected to replace Houchard, and by the exertions of Carnot six fortified camps were traced and occupied

under his command in chief, in which the battalions were disciplined, officered, and prepared for active service. These six camps were occupied by nearly 100,000 men. The allied army under the Prince of Coburg, opposed to Jourdain, numbered about 120,000 men, of which the cavalry was numerous, in excellent condition, and far superior in every respect to what could be brought against them. The determination of the Generalissimo was to sit down before Maubeuge, and the Imperialist army crossed the Sambre with this view on the 29th of September.

## 26. THE IMPERIALISTS BESIEGE MAUBEUGE.

From 20,000 to 25,000 French were established at Maubeuge, in a fortified camp under its walls. This camp was invested by the Prince of Coburg on the 5th of October, on both sides of the Sambre. The Dutch force, which he had drawn away from the Duke of York to augment the army of the Imperialists, was 12,000 strong, and now occupied the left bank of the river, on the chaussée to Mons. General Colloredo was charged with the investment of the right bank, with 45,000 men; Latour's division extended across the chaussée leading to Beaumont at Cerfontaine; another division was placed on the high road to Avesnes, in front of Beaufort, resting its right on the ravine of Wattignies. Clairfait, having under him Wenckheim, Benjowski, and Haddich, had charge of the observation of all the avenues from the side of the forest of Mormale and Landreay. The division entrusted with the works of the siege was 20,000 strong. Immense works were forthwith constructed on both banks of the Sambre, and heavy batteries of twenty 24-pounders; one was established against the town, in hopes to reach the magazines, and create by their destruction a moral effect upon the troops and inhabitants. On the first day sorties were made by the garrison, to drive away the besiegers from a post they occupied, called the Cense de Château; but although stoutly contested on each occasion, the Austrians maintained the post. A more serious enterprise was made on the 13th, against the dépôt of the besiegers, at the Bois du Tilleul, where General Ferrand had some success, and would, it is said, have been able to sustain himself, but that the men sent out to his support mistook his troops for those of the enemy, and opened fire against him, which obliged him to get back with all expedition to the fortified camp. Here in a very short time provisions began to fail the besieged; the supplies, scarcely sufficient for an ordinary garrison, could not maintain 2,500 men in addition; and accordingly, from the 10th of October they were reduced to half-rations. The hospitals also, not having sufficient accommodation for the increased force, were crowded, and numbers died in them daily in consequence; and to add to these difficulties, the batteries opened on the night of the 14th—15th so close to the enceinte, that terror and despair took possession of the defenders. A story is told of General Charbonnier, Governor, to whom some of the men complained, that though he did not care for the fighting they did dislike short commu-

want of rest. "Apprenez, jeunes hommes," replied the General, "que c'est par une longue suite de travaux et de privations qu'il faut acheter l'honneur de combattre et mourir pour la patrie."

## 27. THE BATTLE OF WATTIGNIES.

General Jourdain saw the urgent necessity of undertaking something for the relief of the corps d'armée at Maubeuge, and with this object assembled at Guise a force of some 40,000 men, adding to his own army of the Ardennes divisions from the camps of Gaverelle, Cassell, and Lille, and 4000 or 5000 men drawn from the army of the North. On the 18th of October he set them in motion, in five columns: the first, under the command of Beauregard, took a position and established themselves near Solre le Château; Duquesnoy, with another column, moved up along the high road from Avesnes; the third column, under Balland, was placed in reserve at Avenelles; Cordellier moved up with the fourth column from La Capelle; and General Fromentin, with the fifth, occupied the left of the road from Avesnes at Dompierre. On the 14th Carnot and Jourdain together reconnoitred the enemy's positions. Placed on rising ground behind a small stream, the allies rested their right on the Sambre, and their left across the chaussée to Avesnes upon some woods near Wattignies: another corps fell back in a right angle from the same woods, resting his left on the Sambre. An immense line of cavalry was formed up in echelon in the plain in rear.

In anticipation of the advance of the French, the Prince of Coburg had sent for the Duke of York from the banks of the Lys, who had already arrived at Englefontaine, on the other side of the Mormale forest. Clairfait, who was in command of the corps of observation, 25,000 strong, immediately prepared to oppose the advance of the enemy; he sent to Bellegarde with three battalions and 2000 horse into the valley of St. Waast; Haddich and Benjowski with 4000 or 5000 men were detached towards Beaumont. Clairfait himself took the command of 13,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, upon the heights of Dourlers and Wattignies. The Duke of Coburg had also sent 10,000 men towards Philippeville, to prevent any more troops being marched up from the Ardennes, and had, according to custom, intrenched his position, so that he thought himself secure; and he was reported in the French army to have said, "Ces Français sont de fiers républicains, mais s'ils me chassent d'ici, je me fais républicain moi-même." Accordingly it was a joke in their army, that they were going to fight the Duke to make his Highness a republican.

The outposts first came to blows on the 14th of October, near Avesnes, and on the 15th, at nine in the morning, Jourdain, leading General Balland's guns along the chaussée, opened a cannonade from sixteen 12-pounders on the Austrian division at Dourlers. While this continued, Duquesnoy and Beauregard marched on the right to attack the position at Wattignies, and Fromentin on the left to attack St. Waast and St. Aubain. This General was received with such firmness by the Austrians that he was kept in check until the cavalry



under Bellegarde could come up, who drove him back into the valley of St. Remy with the loss of all his guns, but Duquesnoy was enabled with little resistance to establish himself on the high ground at Dimont and Dimechaux, opposite Wattignies. The commissaries, elated by this advantage, insisted on Balland being ordered forward to the attack of Dourlers; but no sooner did he reach the foot of the position than he was overpowered by the Austrian artillery, and notwithstanding all the devotion of the soldiers, encouraged by Jourdain himself, they were scarcely able to hold their ground, when Bellegarde with the Imperial cavalry, having already repulsed Fromentin, came upon the flank of Balland's column, which got back with difficulty to the ground they had occupied in the morning, with the loss of 1200 men; happily for their safety they were not followed into it by a single squadron of the Imperialists. The two armies bivouacked for the night on the field of battle, but Jourdain saw that the enemy's left at Wattignies was the point of attack; accordingly, in the night he reinforced Duquesnoy with 6000 or 7000 men, and having thus strengthened this wing to the amount of 22,000 men, he closed in Beauregard, who had got off too much to the right, and advanced on the morning of the 16th in three columns upon the Imperialists, commanded by General Terzy, while Beauregard threatened his rear from the side of Obrechies; false attacks were at the same time made on St. Waast and Dourlers. Jourdain also sent forward to this attack a greater number of guns, which had a prodigious effect in covering the charge by the bayonet, and keeping off the Austrian horse. The brother of Carnot took charge of a battery of twelve guns, which played with such effect on the enemy's squadrons that they fell back on Beaufort. The Austrian regiments of Kilbeck and Hohenlohe, in General Terzy's division at Wattignies, were almost annihilated, and the regiments of Stein having lost all their officers were obliged to be withdrawn from the lines and sent to the rear. The Prince of Coburg had not been as much on the alert during the night as Jourdain, and had in truth made no disposition to strengthen his defences; his outposts were all on the look out, but the whole army remained tranquil in its positions, unchanged in any of its dispositions, no augmentations or diminutions being thought of; no reinforcements were even now sent to General Terzy, who earnestly demanded them. Ignorant of the extent of his superiority, which might have readily met this attack with reinforcements drawn from his right, the Prince soon began to fear for his communications. However, Colonel Haddich on the side of Obrechies was enabled to check the advance of Beauregard by a timely and gallant charge of cavalry, and General Chasteler, at the head of a regiment of dragoons, greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded. Benjowski, meeting with General Hélie beyond Beaumont on the side of the Ardennes, drove him back under the walls of Philippeville and took twelve guns from him. Duquesnoy had been ordered to move under the hill of Wattignies, and to come up upon its rear; and his appearance in that direction determined the Prince of Coburg to retreat. The Austrians contended bravely for some

time in defence of their guns and their intrenchments, but at length they were obliged to retire in a complete rout.

The Duke of Coburg might, it is true, have brought across the river the Dutch corps of the Prince of Orange, whose place could have been supplied by the division of the Duke of York. Too timid however to persevere, and fearful of being attacked by Ferrand from the camp of Maubeuge, he hastily withdrew his troops from all his positions, raised the siege of Maubeuge, and in the night crossed the Sambre at Hautmont and Bussière. Ferrand, urged by General Chancel to attack the Austrians on their retreat, let them pass by him unmolested, saying he could not leave his intrenched camp until he had given his hand to Jourdain; but such was at this time the thirst for blood in the Convention that even a successful battle could not quench it. The omission at this time of a sortie from the intrenched camp upon the retreating Imperialists required an expiation of some general for their victim, and General Chancel, who, as it happened, had been the one who most recommended that they should sally forth, was selected for the sacrifice, was tried, condemned, and guillotined. The losses in these battles have been computed at 3000 men on either side.

#### 28. THE FRENCH BESIEGE NIEUPOORT AND ARE REPULSED.

Jourdain, desirous of utilizing his success near Maubeuge, sent to General Davainnes, who had temporarily the command in Flanders, to make a diversion upon Ypres, Menin, and Tournay, and on the 21st a general attack was made on all the posts of the allies. At Marchiennes the attack was made with such effect by Ransonnet, that the Austrians under Kaunitz were obliged to fall back in the night on St. Amand. On the 22nd Souham drove back a detachment under Count d'Erbach upon Menin. An English division at Cysoing found itself obliged to fall back on Tournay. The advanced posts at Willem and Sailly, occupied by the Hanoverians, were in like manner driven in. But it was particularly on the side of Nieupoort and Ostend that the republicans made their most threatening advance, in order to cut off the British from their communications by the sea. Accordingly, on the 21st of October, General Vandamme with 6000 men moved from Dunkirk in two columns, one by the shore and the other by the road, upon Furnes. The first column was to have been supported by a flotilla of French gun-boats, but Admiral Macbride was now off the coast and stopped them. However, the loyal emigrants who garrisoned Furnes, although evincing the most reckless bravery, were obliged to give way before numbers and retired to Nieupoort; here the French kept them besieged till the 25th, when they stormed unsuccessfully the fort of Niervoet, and on the 27th opened batteries against the place at 700 toises, and bombarded the town with hot shot. The garrison stoutly resisted every attempt at a storm until the 29th, when General Dundas arrived with the 42nd and some British artillerymen, and on the ensuing day he was followed by General Gray and a detachment of sailors under Captain Rogers, when on the 30th Van-

damme raised the siege and departed, leaving his battering-guns behind him. These various events brought back the Duke of York and the Austrian divisions in great haste from the banks of the Sambre.

On the 25th the Imperialists under General Kray resolved to take revenge upon the enemy, and made a forced movement to surprise the French at Marchiennes; having heard that General Ranssonnet, who had harried him out of it, now commanded the force there, but had established his head-quarters at Douay, some leagues distant, he with 3000 infantry attacked on one side, while two battalions assailed it on the side of St. Amand, and Otto advanced on Warling and Hamage to cut off their retreat. The advanced post, surprised, fled, and were followed by Kray, who entered the town pell-mell with the pickets and videttes, and such was the confusion in the darkness from the fire of the artillery, that after some 1200 men had been put *hors de combat*, the remainder, to the number of 1800, sent a trumpet with an offer of surrender. The General humanely complied, and obtained great credit for this gallant *coup de main*.

After some manœuvres of more or less hostile intent, both armies retired into winter-quarters: the French at Guise, and Coburg at Bavay. On Carnot's return to Paris, he found the Committee of Public Safety resolved to prosecute the war, by driving the enemy wholly out of France before concluding the campaign, and accordingly orders were transmitted to Jourdain to resume operations notwithstanding the season. On the 3rd of November, therefore, he set the army again in motion. Duquesnoy was ordered to march on Thuin, but the rain fell in torrents, and with all his energy he failed to get there. Fromentin was sent against Charleroi, but before he could reach the place his provisions failed him, and the other divisions had like ill success, so that Jourdain ventured to represent the impossibility of obeying the orders sent him; he was immediately summoned to Paris, deposed from his command, and the conqueror at Wattignies very nearly numbered it among the last of his victories. Pichegru was named to succeed him in his command, and Jourdain was sent to some inferior post elsewhere.

## 29. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.

After the siege of Mayence, Beauharnais withdrew his forces behind the lines of Weissenbourg, and was succeeded in the command of the army of the Rhine by Landremont, and the army of the Moselle fell back on the other side of the Vosges behind the Saar, having its advance at Bliescastel; the former being in numbers 45,000, and the latter 15,000 men. About 10,000 or 12,000 men in the mountains under General Pully kept up the connexion between these two armies, and the division of Delage with about 6000 faced towards Treves; the entire army therefore amounted to about 80,000 combatants. The Prussian army, divided into four separate corps, watched the enemy: one under the King in person at Turchheim and Edickhofen; another under the Duke of Brunswick at Kaiserlautern; a third under the Prince of Hohenlohe

at Lautereck; and the fourth under Kalkreuth at Kreutznach. Wurmser having with him a corps of Austrians and Imperialists guarded the line of the Queich and occupied Spire. This army counted 40,000 men, and a corps of 10,000 Imperialists under Staader covered the Brisgau. The whole allied forces under arms have been put at 100,000. Matters here remained in utter inaction on both sides till the middle of August. On the 9th Kalkreuth marched to Wiebelskirch, and pushed the enemy across the Blies at Neukirch. On the 13th Hohenlohe came up with the French post at Aldert, and drove it back across the Glau. On the 16th the Duke of Brunswick crossed the Erbach and turned the camp of the republicans at Pirmasens, and made them cross the Lauter on the opposite side of the mountain, where the Prince of Prussia blockaded Landau. Wurmser on the 20th sent Hotze into the valley of Anweiler to threaten the left flank of the corps opposite him, but he having in vain tried to dislodge the French from Bergzabern, was on the 27th obliged to seek his own safety by crossing the mountains. The army of Condé advancing on the right of the enemy along the valley of the Rhine, had at first some success in an encounter against General Ihler, who was killed, but they would have been entirely overwhelmed at Hagenbach, had it not been for the timely arrival of support from General Cavanach. Wurmser resolved to make another attempt to get round the left flank of the enemy, and on the 6th of September sent 4000 Austrians under General Piaczewitz to attack the French at Nottweiler, which after a fatiguing march of four days he accomplished and took five guns. On the 14th the republicans retorted by a combined movement on a larger scale; Desaix on the right attacked Bienwald, but was wounded and obliged to fall back; but Piaczewitz was so pressed by General Ferette that he was driven out of Nottweiler and forced to retire; and General Moreaux, who had succeeded Pully in the command of the army in the mountains, carried the position of Pirmasens, but soon found both his flanks enveloped by the movements of the Duke of Brunswick, and fell back with the loss of twenty-two pieces of artillery and 4000 men, and with some risk to his army. General Kalkreuth was also attacked in another quarter, and the action concluded by his cutting to pieces the regiment called Sans Culottes.

The French armies at this moment were at their lowest state of disorganization: the chiefs were successively anathematized, deposed, and brought to the scaffold, whether they were successful or otherwise. Every man suspected of gentle blood or connexions was dismissed from employment. The whole état-major being much in this condition had accordingly to be replaced. The commissaries, vulgar men and jealous of any man of consideration, supplied the vacant places "from the lowest of the people." Jomini very justly remarks, "L'armée, dénuée de confiance, a tous les désastres imaginables, leur patriotisme seul la soutenait." The allies were not, however, at this moment at all united; the chiefs could agree on no combined plan of operations; the natural jealousies of race kept the Austrians and Prussians apart; and personal pique and jealousy

created a coldness between the Duke of Brunswick and General Wurmser. The King of Prussia had left the army and was gone to Poland, where he had interests somewhat antagonistic to his two Imperial allies of Austria and Russia.

### 1 30. ATTACK ON THE LINES OF WEISSENBURG.

The Duke of Brunswick had long cast a wishful eye upon the strong French camp at Hornbach, not far from Zweibrücken. The Prince of Hohenlohe was directed to march from Bliescastel on Beckweiler to turn it on the left, while the Duke threatened it in front, and on the 27th it was evacuated, and Moreaux retired to Bitch. The same day Knobelsdorf drove the republicans out of their camp at St. Imbert, and Kalkreuth on the 28th forced General Guillaume to pass the Saar at Saarbrück. These movements had considerably exposed the left of the French lines at Weissenbourg, and afforded an opportunity to the allied commanders to force the army of the Rhine to evacuate the Vosges. Here the corps d'armée was now commanded by General Carlen, who a month before had only been a captain of cavalry. Under these circumstances the two German commanders laid aside their jealousies and agreed on a general attack. The French lines extended from the Rhine on their right, to the mountains on the left; but were defective in want of connexion: on their extreme left however was the post of the Geisberg, well placed and strong. The determination was taken to storm these lines by main force: Wurmser was to advance in six columns, having a seventh thrown across the river to turn effectually the right of the enemy. The Duke of Brunswick was to move three days in advance in order to turn the French left flank by the gorges of the Vosges at Bondenthal and Leinbach. Accordingly, on the night of the 12th—13th of October the Prince of Waldeck crossed the Rhine from Blittersdorff to Selz, and established a bridge there. As soon as Wurmser was apprised of this success by the explosion of three grenades, he set in motion the other columns. Jellalich, at the head of the second, attacked the left of Lauterburg, and having accomplished this object sat quiet, allowing even his cavalry to unbridle; the consequences of this neglect might have been most serious, for Waldeck, hearing no firing, recrossed the stream, only protecting the bridge, while Dubois with the commissary Niou undertook a surprise against Jellalich, who was only saved by the watchfulness of his Hessian hussars, and by the success of the third column under Hotze, who had got possession, at eleven o'clock, of the road between Weissenbourg and Lauterburg, thus completely cutting off General Carlen at the Bienwald from Dubois's division, who had gone back to Druzenheim. Mazaros and Cavanach, on the right, were not quite so successful in their attacks, though eventually they got possession of the redoubt near Steinfeld, and pushed back Meynier, who was wounded, and forced General Combes to retreat out of Weissenbourg. The remaining column commanded by General Viomenil included in it the corps of Condé, who attacked and carried the intrenchments at Bergzabern, fighting, Frenchman against French-

man, with bitter animosity ; but this time the emigrant carried the day against the republican. The latter fought, however, under some disadvantage. Clarke, the chief of the staff, had been superseded the day before the battle, and there was no officer whose duty it was to carry out the arrangements of the General-in-Chief ; he had, however, determined to withdraw from Weissenbourg upon the Geisberg, but the Austrians, always slow, lost the valuable moment, and although it was but two in the day, Wurmser was content to cannonade Weissenbourg, until the Prince de Condé at the head of his emigrants could charge with the bayonet the troops who still held the village, which they did effectually, taking seventeen guns, and cutting to pieces the unfortunate garrison.

The Prussian army had been put in motion before Wurmser's attack. The Prince of Hohenlohe advanced to Bitche ; but it was the 14th when the Duke of Brunswick reached Werdt, and the French were already behind the Motter. The allies were thus again advancing victoriously upon the French territory, and the republican army not only retiring under the guns of Strasbourg, but that important city itself was, it appeared, on the point of declaring for the royal cause. A conspiracy which was on foot with this object had, however, been discovered, and fearful had been the retaliation : seventy of the most distinguished families of the place were at once accused, tried, condemned, and executed. Some one writes at this period, "Sainte Guillotine est dans la plus brillante activité." The Imperialist General, moreover, had already his views of Austrian interest in regard to Alsace and Lorraine, in which the Duke of Brunswick on the part of Prussia would not acquiesce. In differing, the Duke strongly urged his colleague not to have any concern with Strasbourg, but to limit the campaign to the recovery of Landau, which was still strictly blockaded, and to the siege of Fort Louis. Notwithstanding, after the intrigues at Strasbourg had blown up, Wurmser proceeded to Haguenau, which surrendered to his advanced guard under Mazaros. On the 18th the Austrians came up with and defeated the French with considerable slaughter at Brumpt, and on the 25th they were again routed with great loss, when Wurmser obtained the important position of Wantzenau. The Austrian Marshal now sat down before Fort Louis, or Fort Vauhan, as it is also called, against which he opened the trenches on the 29th of October, and on the 14th of November the garrison of 3000 men capitulated. The Prussians tried to intimidate the garrison of Landau to the same result, and proceeded to bombard it with artillery on the 27th of October from six batteries, but after burning the arsenal, blowing up the magazine, and continuing their fire for forty-eight hours, the besiegers renounced all further violent measures, and again converted the attack of Landau into a most rigorous blockade.

### 31. THE PRUSSIAN FAIL AT THE FORT OF BITCHE.

General Carlen had retired his army behind the Zorn, but the fort of Bitche, situated where four roads meet in the mountains, and

therefore very important to the Duke of Brunswick to hold before he took up his winter-quarters, still remained in the hands of the French. This fort was only garrisoned by a battalion of the *régiment de Cher*, being about 600 or 700 men commanded by Colonel Augier, and was situated on a steep height. On the night of the 16th—17th of November Colonel Wartensleben, guided by an emigrant officer of engineers who knew the place, passed safely by the outwork called *La Queue d'Hirondelle*, and divided three columns of attack; of which the second failed by the very old story of the ladders being too short, but the third entered the town completely to the surprise of the garrison and without a blow. The first arrived at the foot of the ascent and had but a short distance to climb, when a sentinel alarmed the troops, who rushed out of their barracks in their shirts and got the gates closed; they then rushed to their guns and poured a storm of grape that forced the Prussians to retire, leaving twenty-four officers and 540 men on the ground. Alarmed on every side, the garrison scarcely knew where to fire, when the inhabitant of a corner house is reported, very improbably, to have himself proposed to set it on fire. "*Elle vous servira de torche pour vous éclairer.*" The assailants had lowered the portcullis and were in a crowd upon the bridge when the fire opened from the side of the house and pinned a crowd of men who had fled for refuge to the caponnière from stirring either to get forward or backward. Wartensleben, finding his attempt fail, withdrew from the attack, and the unfortunate emigrant engineer was amongst the prisoners.

### 32. THE FRENCH UNDER HOCHÉ ARE FOILED AT KAISERLAUTERN.

General Hoche had been named to the command of the republican army. The allies were composedly fortifying themselves behind the Moselle for the winter, and the Prussians had taken post behind the Saar. Here the latter were attacked on the 28th of November by 30,000 men under Hoche. Hoche had advanced on the 17th of November from the side of the Saar, and successively drove back the Prussians across the Blies and the Erbach; but although gifted with a great genius for war, he was yet at the threshold of his experience, and knew little or nothing of his ground, which was most difficult. Hoche got together some 30,000 men, but it was the 20th before he could get them in motion. The Duke of Brunswick had collected his Saxo-Prussian divisions behind the marshy stream of the Lauter, resting his right on the town of Kaiserlautern and his left at Triptstadt. General Kospoth was at one extreme flank in the mountains at Lauterbeck, and the Prince of Hohenlohe on the other at Pirmasens, watching the valleys that descended towards the Rhine at Anweiler and Neustadt. Hoche moved to the attack in three grand columns on the 28th. His right advanced from Sarrealbe, his left from St. Louis, and his centre through the mountains by Freudenberg. General Ambert with the left attack had reached Reichenbach and determined to attack the Prussian position at Hirselsborn, which induced the Duke to bring forward General Kalkreuth with the reserve to the Schlossberg and to make them face with their left on the Lauter. Thus Ambert

risked being enveloped by the two corps of Kospoth from Lautereck, and Kalkreuth at Erlebach, and had only 6000 men with him. With the exception of some slight affairs of cavalry, matters rested thus till the morning of the 29th, when Hoche sent his strength against the bridge of Sambach in support of Ambert, who endeavoured to turn the allied flank at Otterbach; the two brigades of Simon and Paillard, sent on this service, lost their way and did not come together till the close of the day, but the Prussian left wing got also separated, and was attacked by Olivier and Molitor at Moorlautern, and at first driven back, but some Saxon cavalry came to their aid, and they saved their position. Ambert accordingly gave orders to withdraw his two brigades in the night, and it was fortunate for him he did so, for Kospoth, who was closing in from the right, would have certainly destroyed him. On the other flank, General Taponier advancing from Laadstuhl upon Vogelwehr attacked the Galgenberg, but the Duke of Brunswick brought in his left wing from Trippstadt under the Prince of Weimar, and Wartensleben with ten squadrons fell heavily on Taponier, who was driven back across the Erbach. On the 30th the cannonade reopened with increased fury on every side, and Hoche made a fresh attempt to turn the Duke's right: some bloody work was done between Molitor's horse and the Saxon cavalry, and some French divisions renewed their endeavours to retake the village of Erlebach, but failed and were obliged to retreat beyond Otterbach. The Duke now brought forward both his wings and forced Hoche to a general retreat, which he effected, leaving Ambert to cover his march with five battalions. The loss of the Saxo-Prussians was put at 1300, and that of the French at 3000. Hoche was now convinced that he could not save Landau by any movements he could make against the Duke of Brunswick on that side of the mountains, and therefore determined to send Taponier with 12,000 men to reinforce the army of the Rhine and enable it to advance upon Wurmser.

### 33. THE BATTLE OF THE GEISBERG.

The failure of the Prussians against Bitché had exposed the right of Wurmser's army, but he had intrenched himself in a strong position between Druzenheim on the Rhine and Reichshofen in the mountains. Here several attempts were made to turn the Austrian right at Mittelheim on the 1st of December, and at Benthelm and Dausendorf on subsequent days, but without effect. These combats, however, disciplined and blooded the young French recruits, and prepared them for more serious enterprises. In October the command of the French army of the Rhine was conferred on Charles Pichegru, who had been but chef de bataillon at the close of the previous year, but had been since rapidly promoted to be General of Brigade and of Division, and was now selected by the commissaries with this army for the command in chief. He had desired to signalize his appointment by something brilliant on the 4th and 8th, but his attempts had ended in nothing decisive; on the 9th a better combined attack succeeded in driving in the Austrian advanced posts in front of



their intrenched position. The corps of Taponier was now advancing by the valley of the Niederbron to cover the left of Pichegru's army, and on the 8th the Austrians were dislodged from Jagenthal by a battalion under the command of Soult, who here comes first upon the scene. Had the Austrians and Prussians been at this moment acting in concert, there would have been no difficulty in effectually counteracting the republicans; but the allies were so slow in concerting measures, that they were not ready to do any thing till the 15th or 16th. In the meanwhile the ever-active French were upon them, and attacked Rheimshofen, where Jacob was repulsed by the Austrian corps of Hotze, and another French division was driven back at Guntershofen; but on the 18th, while the allies were deterred from an intended attack by the weather, Taponier and Hatry took the offensive and drove back the corps of Funck out of Rheimshofen, and Hotze was forced to retire to Werdt and the Liebfrauenberg. Here he was again attacked and driven back by Hoche on the 22nd, who had passed the Vosges with the division of the army of the Moselle, and now came by way of Freshweiler, when falling on Werdt he captured twenty guns in position. The Prussian right was now forced back upon the Pigeonnier near Weissenbourg, and Wurmsier was then constrained to break up his main force from his fortified line behind the Motter, and to retire in all haste, leaving a strong garrison behind him in Fort Vauban.

The French army was at this moment partly under the command of Pichegru and partly under Hoche, and the commissaries who were with it saw that the ill-will which existed between the two might lead to bad results, and therefore determined to invest Hoche with the chief command. This General now assembled 35,000 men opposite Weissenbourg, while two divisions under Desaix threatened Lauterburg, and three more divisions from the army of the Moselle descended the Vosges on his left. The allies were not only at ill accord with one another, Austrians and Prussians, but the former were disgusted at being obliged to quit the lines they had watched so long, nor were the Alsacians at all prepared for their defection, and thus a sense of disgrace was added to the feeling of the retreating soldiers. The allied forces were now established with their right at Roal and on the Geisberg, and their left at Ober-Lauterbach, with the river and the old French intrenchments in their rear. The Duke of Brunswick with his Prussians occupied the Pigeonnier. It was remarked as singular that the generals should receive the impending attack with their back to the old French intrenchments and the river Lauter.

Hoche was in no mind to allow the Austrians to take breath, and advanced against them on the 26th in three columns. Desaix marched on Lauterburg, Michaud moved on Schleithal, while the divisions of Ferino, Hatry, and Taponier in one column marched to the attack of Weissenbourg and the Geisberg. Seven battalions and sixteen squadrons of the Austrians had, it appears, been ordered forward in a contemplated attack by the allied generals, and now found themselves compromised by meeting with a disproportionate

encounter with the advancing French, and in this unequal attack, having endeavoured in vain to gain the Geisberg, they turned and fled in disorder; but the Duke of Brunswick hearing the firing from the Pigeonnier, hastened down to Weissenbourg, and, seconded by General Wartensleben, who commanded the Imperial reserve and rearguard, checked the pursuit. Such, however, was the dissension between the two allied commanders, that Wurmser, coming up in the midst of the conflict, imagined that there was some reluctance on the part of the Prussians to continue the engagement, and a warm altercation broke out between him and the Duke of Brunswick in presence of their respective forces on the field of battle. The same day therefore the retreat of the Austrians was determined upon, and before night it was carried out to Freckenfeld, and the day following to Germesheim, nor did Wurmser now stop until he had put the Rhine between him and his pursuers, so that he crossed that river at Philipsburg on the 30th of December. The Duke of Brunswick also saw the necessity of carrying back his army, which accordingly retreated to Neustadt, while the corps from Kaiserlautern fell down on Turckheim. The Prussians saw that as they alone now remained on the left bank of the Rhine, it was necessary for them to continue to fall back as fast as they could, but they had little time to withdraw their troops from their advance as far in front as Zweibrücken; as soon therefore as they had got back all their outlying detachments, the Prussians again fell back, and their retreat only concluded when they reached Mayence on the 30th. Thus Landau, which had been blockaded since April, was effectually relieved, and General Gilot, who had resisted every proposal to surrender the place, had the gratification of giving a *coup de patte* to those who had so heavily bombarded him, as he opened his guns upon the flying enemy in their retreat. The victorious army was received by the garrison under arms on the 27th and duly complimented for their astonishing endurance.

There never was a more glaring example of the evils of a divided command than this short campaign in the Vosges. When the Prussians under the Duke of Brunswick were engaged for three successive days about Kaiserlautern, Wurmser never "stirred a finger" to his aid. When the Duke had stoutly defeated the French attempt to relieve Landau from that side, he was content to sit upon his eyrie in the hills and plume himself on his victory, instead of following his adversary down the valleys of the Vosges, and never ceasing from their trail until he had learned the full extent of their hostile intentions. When the armies of the Moselle and Rhine joined and outflanked Wurmser, the two able and experienced leaders of the allies could not hit upon any joint plan of defence, or if they had done so, they delayed it for a storm of rain, while the most imminent danger manifestly impended over the allied cause: but the conduct of Wurmser in taking his army off across the Rhine and leaving the Prussians to get away as they could, was the most flagrant instance of deserting an ally that was ever heard of. On the other hand, young Hoche, without any experience, comes before us with all the daring and freshness of the great republican school of war, which he may

almost be said to have inaugurated. His boldness in advancing up to the Prussians on the top of the mountains, and resolutely and perseveringly striking them on all sides for three days consecutively and then, when he discovered that he could not reach Landau in that direction, his rapid and ready descent upon Wurms, and the crushing result that followed, give him at once a foremost rank among the commanders of the time. The same fate, however, followed his successes that had followed those of his predecessors. He was already become too great for a jealous government, who drew him under some shabby pretext to Paris, where he was imprisoned and would have been sacrificed, but for the fortuitous change that resulted in the fall of Robespierre, which event again set him free. The several armies now took up winter-quarters; the Prussians near Mayence, the Austrians on the right bank of the Rhine, while the French occupied Germessheim, and sat down to besiege Fort Vauban.

#### 34. WAR IN LA VENDÉE.

It is now time to return to the events that were taking place in La Vendée, where an internecine and cruel contest raged, and "blood was poured out upon the earth like water." After the capture of Saumur and Angers, an attempt was made on the 20th of June to carry by assault the city of Nantes, which failed. By the capitulation of Mayence, the French garrison there had become disposable by the government, and was hastened with all speed into La Vendée, in the beginning of September. This incident, instead of disheartening the insurgents, gave them fresh energy; they reassembled and fell upon the troops as they marched on with such fury, that they were every where defeated with prodigious slaughter. Exasperated as well as astonished at the failure of these successive attempts to put down the insurrection, the republican government now determined to adopt the most atrocious means to crush it with effect: fresh troops from all the captured fortresses were collected and sent down to the province, and the generals were ordered to lay waste with fire and sword the whole of unfortunate La Vendée. These sanguinary mandates were executed with a barbarous fidelity; nothing was spared: those who escaped the sword perished by the flames. The Vendéans were not, however, wanting to themselves in this terrible crisis: determined to save themselves and their families from the fury of an implacable foe, they assembled together to the number of nearly 100,000 persons, men, women, children, and priests, and boldly crossing the Loire at Ancenis and St. Florent, on the 17th of October, marched above 100 miles towards the sea-coast, where they had reasonable expectation and hope of being speedily succoured from England. They were at this time under the direction of Stofflet and Henri de la Roche-Jacquelin, and now divided themselves into two bodies; the one blockaded the strong town of St. Malo, in Brittany, the other undertook the siege of Granville, in Normandy. Inexpert, however, in their military tactics, and not sufficiently under discipline to carry on a siege, they were soon forced to abandon it, after a daring attempt on the night of the 15th—16th

of November to carry the place by escalade; in this they failed, and lost a fearful number of men. Their patience was at length exhausted; the expected aid from England did not arrive, and the leaders, sensible of their present insecurity against the forces now assembling together on all sides against them, under Marceau, sought to turn back into the interior of the province, and to place the Loire again between them and their enemies. Upon their arrival at Le Mans, they found that the republican General Chabos had just quitted it, and accordingly they entered that town on the 11th of December, and looked to the hope of resting there awhile from the fatigues and conflicts to which they had been exposed ever since they quitted Granville. The next day, however, they were attacked by Chabos, whom they nevertheless repulsed, but unadvisedly remaining at Mans, they were on the 13th attacked by Marceau, coming with increased forces from the westward, who utterly routed the royalist army, the remains of which escaped under La Roche-Jacquelin to Laval. They were still ignorant of the assistance which had by this time arrived in Normandy from England, and in their despair could think of no escape but by placing the Loire between them and their ruthless brethren; accordingly they rushed to cross the river at Ancenis on the 16th, but while La Roche-Jacquelin was striving to collect the means of crossing it, he was cut off from his people by the arrival of Westermann's cavalry, and his troops fled without their general by Nort to Savenay, a town to the north of Nantes: here on the 22nd of December Marceau, with Tilly and Kleber, utterly and hopelessly annihilated the whole Vendean army. "Chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, countesses, marchionesses, and princesses, all perished by the sword, by the flames, or by the waves." The Vendéans had unfortunately only just turned back from Grauville and St. Malo, when the British expedition that had been prepared for their assistance, under the Earl of Moira, arrived on the 2nd of December off the French coast. It consisted of a French legion of emigrants, under the Marquis du Dresnay, fourteen British battalions, four companies of artillery, and about 5000 German auxiliaries, the whole amounting to about 12,000 men. Every sign previously agreed upon was made from the squadron to the shore, but no answer being returned, Lord Moira ordered the fleet to Guernsey, while he sent officers to ascertain the state of affairs. In the mean while the weather began to be so unsettled that Admiral Macbride became anxious for the safety of the fleet; and after waiting fruitlessly a due space of time and finding no probability of employing the expedition in any useful diversion, he returned with it to England.

### 35. WAR IN THE PYRENEES.

The republican General Flers, who commanded in the Eastern Pyrenees, held with some difficulty the defensive against the Spanish General Ricardos, his best troops being continually taken away from him and replaced by new levies, and he himself regarded with ill favour by the commissaries of the Convention, on account of his

noble origin and connexions. The opposing armies were nearly of the same strength, but the Spanish General was receiving reinforcements, and was at the head of a good army and in the full confidence of his government. He determined accordingly to undertake the offensive, and thought he might manœuvre such a demonstration on the side of Mont Louis, as might induce the republicans to leave Perpignan to its own defences. In this portion of the Pyrenees, an isolated mountain of considerable elevation, called Mount Canigou, stands sentinel from the main range, and having given rise to the waters of the Tech on the south side, sends down its rocky spurs into the Tet on the other; over which, coasting the right bank of the stream, the road runs from Mont Louis to Perpignan, crossing to its left bank by a bridge, at the town of Ville Franche. Ricardos felt the necessity of securing this post, so as to cut off the troops at Mont Louis altogether from Perpignan, and on the 3rd of August he sent forward General Crespo, who had considerable local knowledge of the valley, with six battalions. Avoiding all the French outposts, he came quite by surprise on the heights commanding the town, to which he transported by manual labour (for all the roads were impracticable) some 12-pounders and 24-pounders: with these he immediately opened upon the town, after having daily summoned it, and the Commandant, whose garrison was half absent and all recruits, was too glad to come to terms; so that the place was occupied the same night. Upon this loss Flers was recalled and imprisoned, and the command given to the General of Division, Barbantane.

Ricardos, now master of Ville Franche, determined to throw forward his right and establish it on the Gly, so as to invest Perpignan from the north. Amarillas, accordingly, was directed to cross the Tet, at La Soler, and on the 30th of August he pushed back General Goquet to Salees and Peyrestortes, and Ricardos at the same time drove in the outposts at Cabestany and Orles upon Perpignan. General Vasco, higher up the Tet, defeated at Olette the brigade of Bettencourt, and disengaging Mont Louis passed towards the valley of the Cerdagne, where the republican general Dagobert commanded. This General, placing garrisons in Puycerda, and Belver, immediately put himself in march for Mont Louis, and rallying the fugitive brigade to his own division, advanced on the 4th of September with 8000 men to meet the Spaniards. Poinot, who commanded the advance, surprised their camp near Mont Louis, and after a conflict of two hours the French defeated Vasco with the loss of fourteen guns and 400 cavaliers of the regiment of Saguntum, who had been especially successful in the former encounters with the French cavalry. Nevertheless, Ricardos still pursued his object into Roussillon. The commissaries having replaced General Barbantane by General Dagobert, this last determined on a combined attack from forces at Salees on the Spanish post at Peyrestortes, commanded by Amarillas: accordingly, on the 17th of September, General Daoust debouching from Perpignan with 6000 or 7000 men, attacked the Spanish outposts at Le Vernet, while General Goquet, from Salees,

attacked the camp at Rivesaltes, and Perignon that at Peyrestortes. Amarillas, assailed in front, right, and rear, was overcome and forced back across the Tet, with the loss of twenty-six pieces of cannon, and was too glad to re-establish his camp at Mas d'Eu, where he rejoined the division of the Count de la Union.

### 36. BATTLE OF THE TRUILLAS.

Emboldened by this success, the veteran Dagobert, who had the experience of service in the seven years' war, and was remarkable above his fellows in the French army for his military qualities, determined to make an attempt to free Perpignan from all investment, and with this object commenced an attack on the whole of the Spanish line, on the 22nd of September. At daybreak he moved forward 18,000 men in three columns; of these, Goquet's column was to attack the Spanish left at Thuir, Daoust the right at Mas d'Eu, and the General-in-Chief in the centre was to force the camp at Truillas, where Ricardos had established his head-quarters. The Spanish General had intimations of this intention of Dagobert, and he accordingly sent Crespo with 3000 men from his right wing beyond the Reart, and reinforced the Duke d'Ossuna at Thuir with every man he could spare. The contending forces came in collision at seven in the morning, when Daoust found himself opposed to Crespo, who had received no reinforcements, but nevertheless repulsed the French attack. Ricardos, always fearing for his left, now repaired to Thuir, and ordered up such reinforcements that Goquet found himself outnumbered, and quailed before the Duke d'Ossuna's 24-pounders, which the French with great bravery got across several rows of abattis in an attempt to capture; but the Count de la Union, and the Duke of Montellano coming at the moment into the line, drove them back, and secured their safety. Dagobert went boldly on to the centre and made himself master of a redoubt which commanded the camp at Truillas; but General Courten defended his ground as effectually as D'Ossuna had done, and Ricardos having now secured his left, came up to his assistance. At the head of the royal carbineers and the regiment of Paira on one flank, and ordered two other regiments under Don Diego Godoy to attack the other, while Courten moved to the front with all his infantry and artillery. The republican General under these combinations found himself so overpowered on all sides, that he ordered a retreat. Three battalions of republicans laid down their arms and cried *Vive le Roi*. The old General, indignant at this defection, stopped his retreat to pour grape upon the traitors, and then marched on in pretty good order upon Canhoes. The French lost 6000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Spanish loss did not exceed 1500.

Ricardos, however, obtained little advantage from his victory, for the republicans were now continually receiving reinforcements, and soon succeeded in retaking Ville Franche, which induced the Spanish General to withdraw all his troops into his intrenched camp at Le Boulon, on the Tech. Dagobert, who had lost his prestige after the battle of Truillas, disgusted at his want of success, resigned the

command and returned to the Cerdagne, and making an incursion from Puycerda, bombarded and pillaged the Spanish town of Campredon. General Daoust, who succeeded him, in order to signalize the new command, made an attack, on the 3rd of October, on the camp at Boulon, but was repulsed by Vives and Palafox; and the following day another attack was repulsed by General Solano. He now determined on a night attack, the 14th—15th, and about midnight presented himself before the Spanish force at Pla-del-Rey, where Brigadier Taranco commanded, with four battalions. The night was favourable for concealing the weakness of the force attacked, but Taranco put himself vigorously to his work and defended his intrenchments by the aid of his artillery with much spirit. A concurrent attack had been made on General Courten, on the right of the camp, but Ricardos, convinced that the attack on Taranco was the serious one, merely sent to his aid the Walloon guards and some squadrons of cavalry. Seven times the French attacked Courten and were repulsed, and General Daoust, convinced that he had lost every advantage of a surprise, withdrew after a horrible carnage, and revenged himself by cannonading the camp at Boulon for two or three days without any success whatever. After these failures of the republicans, Daoust was deposed from his command, which was given to General Thurreau.

The next attempt against the Spanish army was a suggestion of one of the commissaries (Fabre), namely, a *coup de main* upon the Spanish fort of Rosas: for this purpose three columns of brigades under Delatre, Raymond, and Clauzel, were sent across the mountains to combine in an attack upon the enemy's camp on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, at Espolla. Neither General Thurreau nor Dagobert would incur the responsibility of such an undertaking, and the commissaries recalled General Daoust, who set off on this expedition on the 26th of October. Delatre was, however, the only one of the three who reached his destination, where he found Arias in command of the camp and completely on his guard. The Spanish General was soon joined by Generals Cagigal and Belvis, who drove back the republicans and hastily pursued them to the mountains. At the same time, in order to draw off the attention of the Spaniards, General Dagobert had been summoned from La Cerdagne to Thuir, and was now sent forward to fall on Ceret, while the enemy's camp at Boulon was cannonaded in front. He arrived before the town of Ceret at seven in the morning, and headed by the commissary Cassayne, "*aussi entêté que brave*," the French dashed into the town pell-mell, just as those who had been left to defend it were retiring; but another column which had advanced at the same time on Cabanas, had been met and defeated by the Marquis de Coupigny and the Marquis de Truxillo, who now rallying the fugitives from the town, returned upon the French and drove them away. General Dagobert had become so thoroughly disgusted with the interference of the commissaries, that he solicited his recall, and had the boldness to appeal to the justice of the Committee of Public Safety against them. "*L'opinion, les plans des représentants*

Fabre et Gaston, sont-ils donc comme l'arche du Seigneur, qu'on ne saurait toucher du doigt sans être frappé du mort ?" General Thurreau also was replaced by General Doppet, of whom it was remarked by Robespierre, that if he wanted military experience, he had at all events zeal and enterprise. The new General, observing on his arrival at the command that the Spanish camp at Boulon had but one bridge of retreat across the Tech, and that the season had now greatly swelled the river, determined to destroy it, and for that purpose ordered General Solbeuclair to attack it on the side of St. Ferrol. At the same moment, however, Ricardos had meditated a surprise on the French detachment at St. Ferrol, and had ordered the Count de la Union with 7000 or 8000 men to advance against it. Both armies, therefore, were in motion towards each other without knowing it. On the morning of the 26th of November Solbeuclair found Ceret defended only by some Portuguese, who fled after a faint resistance; but La Union coming up to their assistance, sent forward the Spanish guards under Don Philip Viana, who fell upon the French at the point of the bayonet, and drove them back into their camp at St. Ferrol, taking from them three French batteries.

Ricardos resolved on the 7th of December to return the visit to his adversary in his camp at Villelongue; he reinforced Courten at Montesquiou with this object to 8000 men, who advanced at six in the morning, and marching with great secrecy surprised the outposts, and at the same moment fell upon the enemy in four columns, all of whom arrived at the same moment at their destinations, and without firing a shot charged with the bayonet; the French fled before the Spaniards into the village, where they were encountered by the Spanish cavalry, who drove them even to Argeles. Ricardos having thus again succeeded, resolved to clear the right of his position on the side of Collioure altogether. The enemy were posted at the Col de Bagnos. He accordingly sent Courten across the mountains to his camp at Espolla, and from thence on the 14th advanced by six or seven passes, while Iturigarray with the Spanish cavalry was directed to appear in the plains about Argeles. The plan was hazardous, and it might have been preferable if the attack had been wholly made from the latter side, which must have seriously compromised the French division in the Col de Bagnos; nevertheless it succeeded fully, and General Delatre was driven out of the pass upon Port Vendre with the loss of 300 prisoners and twenty guns. A few days later, when General Cuesta found himself in command in the absence of Courten, he observed that the ground in rear of Collioure might favour an enterprise if approached by three difficult passes. He accordingly ordered Castrillo, Solano, and Ortig to take the command of three columns against General Delatre's division, penned up between these "Cols" and the sea. The three defiles were carried, and the French fled away to the protection of the strong places of Collioure, St. Elmo, and Port Vendre. Solano forthwith summoned St. Elmo, which capitulated. Ortig did the same, and succeeded at Port Vendre. Cuesta then boldly marched at night against Collioure at the head of three battalions armed with torches as if to burn and



assault the place, and it also surrendered on the 23rd. Nothing could have been better than the whole enterprise, which did great honour to all the Spanish generals employed. The French representative Fabre, in one of these encounters, bravely defended the ground at the head of the French columns, and met a glorious death. General Delatre, less fortunate, was sent to expiate his defeat on the scaffold.

Doppet now received orders to send 15,000 men to the assistance of Toulon: but in order to save his army in the immediate face of an enemy from the apprehended consequences of such a reduction, he determined to attack the Spanish army on the 19th of December with a portion of his force, while the rest withdrew on Perpignan. He made his attack from the side of Villelongue with the brigade of Laterrade, where he was met by Arias and the first Portuguese regiment of Oporto, who, rapidly assuming the offensive, drove them back across the Tech and into the camp at Baniculs-les-Aspres. Doppet, overcome with fever and fatigue, was forced to retire on account of his health to Perpignan, and Daoust again took the command. Ricardos lost no time in sending forward the Marquis de las Amarillas with 6000 men to attack the French in their new camps, while General Forbes and Taranco menaced the right flank with five battalions, and the cavalry was sent across the Tech at Orlañá to menace the left. These attacks made on the 22nd with spirit soon forced back the republicans, already disheartened by their failures, and reduced to 8000 men, who took up a position near to Perpignan, while the Spaniards occupied as much of Rousillon as they desired. Ricardos very justly gained great honour in this campaign, but shortly after sunk under the fatigues of it, dying at Madrid on the 6th of March, 1794, sincerely lamented by the whole Spanish people. It is but just to remark that the Spanish army never showed better material either in men or officers than at this period of their history.

In the Western Pyrenees Don Vestura Caro with 24,000 men defended the great chaussée across the Bidassoa at Yrun; his right rested on the hills of Commissari and the mountain La Rhune, where the Count de Urrutia was intrenched in a camp about Berra. The centre under the Marquis de la Romana was in the principal encampment at St. Martial, with an advanced post across the river at Biriatu. Posts were established at the Col de Maya and Echalan to watch any descent that might be attempted into the valley of Bastan, and a corps of 7000 or 8000 men defended the pass of Roncesvalles. Després-Crassier commanded the republicans, and although he recognized the strength of the Spanish position defended by formidable works, yet the commissaries of the Convention as usual urged an attempt which it was impossible either to effect or refuse. On the 29th of August an advance was made upon the detached force of Biriatu. Caro, sufficiently prepared, had strengthened this camp with additional breastworks and a reinforcement of sixteen companies of grenadiers. Romana bravely resisted the attack, and not only successfully defended the post, but himself assumed the

offensive, and drove back the republicans to their camp called *Des Sans Culottes*, in front of *Urrugne*. The simultaneous attack upon the left of the position at *Berra* by *Willot*, and upon *Urrutia* equally failed, as did another against *Generals Urdax* and *Zugaramundi* on the 7th of September. Thus matters remained to the end of the year, which enabled *Caro* to send away a division of 7000 men about the middle of October to reinforce *Ricardos*, and to compensate for their absence the intrenchments about all the Spanish posts were, by the prudence and energy of the General commanding, put into a more perfect condition of defence.

### 37. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.

The Piedmontese had at length been roused by the diminished forces in their front to make a movement in advance on the side of *Mont Blanc*; the plan of the campaign was to drive back the French from the valleys of the *Are* and the *Isere*. This afforded an excuse to *Kellermann* to leave the siege of *Lyons* that was distasteful to him, in order to repel a foreign aggressor; accordingly he gave over the conduct of the army before *Lyons* to *General Dumuy*. The *Duke de Montferrat* on the side of *Mont Cenis*, and *General Gordon* on the side of the *Maurienne*, had already invaded the country on the 14th of August, and had carried the post of *St. Maurice* and the intrenched camp of *St. Martin*; they were now preparing to attack *Contians* and *Aiguebelle*. The *Duke de Montferrat* entirely routed *General Bagdelonne* at *Seeg* and *Morliers* on the 15th and 18th. *Kellermann* raised the population of this district who were most favourable to France, and by these means got seven or eight battalions into line at *Montmeillar*, then wisely seizing the strategic post of *Valloire* came upon *Gordon* on the 11th of September at *Argentines*, and threatening that General's flank, threw a terror into the *Sardinians* by opening upon it from the rocks of *St. Alban* some mountain guns which the French soldiers had carried up by their personal strength. He again came up with the enemy on the 4th of October at the post of *St. Maurice*, and was soon enabled to send this report to the Convention, which is a good specimen of the inflated style of this period: "*Le Mont Blanc a été envahi par des forces supérieures: le Mont Blanc est évacué aujourd'hui. L'expulsion des Savoyards du territoire du Mont Blanc leur a coûté 2000 hommes et une immense quantité d'argent.*" It cannot be denied that this expedition did great honour to *Kellermann*, who with a force not exceeding 12,000 men, hastily got together, drove back 18,000 *Sardinians* from their own valleys.

### 38. SIEGE OF TOULON—BONAPARTE CHIEF OF ARTILLERY.

The possession of *Lyons*, and the advantages that *Kellermann* had obtained in *Savoy* (which, it may be remarked in passing, only just saved him from the miseries intended for him by the commissaries of the Convention, and eventually restored him to command), left 18,000 men disposable; and, accordingly, *General Doppet* with 10,000 men was immediately ordered to march for *Toulon*. The

French General Carteaux had been sent by Kellermann with six battalions and 400 horse against Marseilles, where the garrison and inhabitants had taken post at the castle of Port St. Esprit, under the direction of one D'Arbaud. On the arrival of Carteaux, this chief retired behind the Durance, to a position that covered the road from Marseilles to Lyons, where he intrenched himself. Here he was attacked on the 25th of August, and defeated, which enabled Carteaux to enter Marseilles the next day. The General had no sooner obtained possession of it, than he prepared to restore Toulon also to the Republic. The spirit of disaffection which had so generally disturbed the internal provinces of France at this period, had extended to the great Mediterranean port of Toulon, and to the fleet in the harbour. This consisted of seventeen sail of the line, ready for sea, besides about fourteen others building, repairing, or refitting in the docks and arsenals; all under the command of the Comte de Trogoft, a staunch royalist. On the sight of a British fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, under Vice-Admiral Lord Hood, which appeared in the offing on the 23rd of August, two commissioners came out to the "Victory," Lord Hood's flag-ship, to treat for the conditional surrender of the port and shipping to the British. The negotiations having proved successful, Lord Hood, at noon on the 27th, ordered 1500 soldiers who were on board the fleet and 200 marines and seamen to be landed at Fort Lamalque, under Captain the Honourable George Keith Elphinstone. In the afternoon a Spanish fleet of seventeen sail, under Rear-Admiral Gravina, hove in sight, and the British Admiral, on the 28th, ordered the white flag to be hoisted and Louis XVII. to be proclaimed; and appointed Rear-Admiral Goodall Governor of Toulon, and the Spanish Admiral Gravina Commandant of all the troops. On the 29th the republican General Carteaux pushed his advanced guard to Ollioules, where he posted himself advantageously at a bridge, with two pieces of cannon. Captain Elphinstone acting as Governor of Fort Lamalque, in the command of all the troops on that side of Toulon, immediately on hearing of Carteaux's advance, set off with 300 British and the same number of Spanish in the direction of Ollioules. With this force Elphinstone attacked the French with great vigour, made the enemy withdraw from their post, leaving their cannon, &c., in the hands of the conquerors. The post of Lamalque, at two leagues from Toulon, guarded a pass between a difficult defile that formed the only practicable passage for artillery to advance to Toulon from the side of Marseilles, and was a most important possession. Captain Douglas, of the 11th, and about twenty men, fell in this attack, which was completely successful and very creditable to Elphinstone. During the month of September the increasing number of Carteaux's army on the west and General Lapoype's on the east, kept the allied posts in a state of constant alarm; but Brigadier-General Lord Mulgrave had now arrived at Toulon, and had taken on himself the supreme military command. A strong republican party both in the town and shipping had shown itself, however, and the British Admiral found it necessary to ship off 5000 of the most

with Rear-Admiral St. Julien, in four of the most unserviceable of the French ships, and sent them away to Rochefort and Brest. On the 18th the republican troops opened batteries upon the shipping, when floating batteries mounting long 24-pounders were armed against them, which with the fire of some of the large ships kept them in check, but with much loss to the British. On the 30th the enemy availed himself of a thick fog, and got possession of Faron, an important post above the town, occupied by a detachment of Spaniards, but Lord Mulgrave inaugurated his command by driving the enemy back from thence with great courage and spirit, and retook this post. On the night of the 8th of October it was resolved to attempt the destruction of the batteries that the enemy had erected to menace the shipping in the road. A detachment of British commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, amounting to 225 men, with some Spaniards and Italians, led by a forlorn hope under Captain Brereton, of the 26th regiment, surprised the first battery, drove the enemy with the bayonet into the second, into which the assailants likewise forced their way, and having rendered the guns useless, returned to quarters with two officers and twenty-three men prisoners. The narrow paths and rugged precipices by which the troops had to descend, alone prevented them from bringing the guns also away with them.

The city and suburbs of Toulon occupy a circumference of nearly fifteen miles, and to defend this the total amount of British troops in and about the port amounted only to 2114 rank and file, but there were some 5000 Neapolitan troops, and about 1200 Sardinians, together with some French royalists and Spaniards, making the entire force to consist of nearly 17,000 men, of which about 12,000 only were fit for duty; and on the 22nd of October, General O'Hara arrived to command the whole with the commission of Governor and Commander of the Forces at Toulon.

Towards the end of November General Dugommier was invested with the command of the republican besieging army, composed of 25,000 to 30,000 men, of whom one-third were undisciplined recruits. He had plenty of artillery with him, but was short of powder, which very much delayed his proceedings. He divided the army into two corps, of one of which he took the command himself, and bestowed the other on General Lapoype. This latter was directed to march from La Valette against Cape Brun and Fort Lamalque, and with the other an attack was to be made on the heights of Faron, and on those of Arenes and Pietailas, all of which command Fort Malbouquet. On the 28th of November, the republicans opened fire from a battery of six 24-pounders on the hill of Arenes; the officer of artillery who commanded on this occasion was no less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte, at this time chef de bataillon in the artillery, but who, by the accident of his superior having been disabled at the affair of Ollioules, was at the moment commanding the artillery of the siege. It is related, that on this occasion one of the commissaries, always intruding and interfering with the military commanders, came up and criticized the position of his

battery, to whom he replied, with the spirit we should have expected from his character, "*Melez vous de votre métier de représentant; laissez moi faire le mien d'artilleur: cette batterie restera là, et je réponds du succès.*" The battery in truth succeeded so well, that it greatly annoyed the garrison of the Fort Malbousquet, and even reached the town with some of their shells, very much endangering the arsenal. General O'Hara, therefore, determined to attack it, and try to bring away or destroy these guns; accordingly, on the 30th of November, at daybreak, the British and Piedmontese troops, to the number of 2000, under Major-General Dundas, crossed the river Las, separated into two divisions, one of which descended into the valley of Pietaillas, and the other, led by Lieutenant Graham, surprised 1900 men of the enemy in possession of the battery on the hill of the Arenes, and spiked the guns; but instead of forming on the summit, the troops, in their impetuosity, pushed on, hoping to be able to carry the next eminence, and indeed a part of them had very nearly reached the great chaussée of Ollioules, where the siege park had been placed. Dugommier, on hearing the firing, rushed to the spot, and rallying some of his troops stopped the progress of the assailants, who were now compelled not only to fly in their turn, but to relinquish the possession of the battery they had won with so much valour. General O'Hara coming up at the time, and perceiving the disorder of the troops, was hastening to restore order, when he received a wound which stretched him on the ground, and he was made a prisoner. Dugommier also received two wounds, on the knee and arm, but with better fortune was not placed by them *hors de combat*. The loss of the British in this attack was about 100 killed and wounded, and 100 prisoners.

Dugommier now resolved to await the arrival of eight battalions that General Laharpe was expected to be bringing up from the army of the Var, and upon their arrival he made a general reconnaissance of the defences, in company with the chief engineer and artillery officers, Marescot and Bonaparte. They perceived that an attempt must be made to take the two principal forts, one called Fort Faron, and the other indiscriminately Fort Mulgrave, Petit Gibraltar, de l'Eguillette, and Redoubte Anglaise. This latter was placed on a height near the village of La Seine, forming the key of a line of works that protected a camp, in which were 5000 Spaniards and 700 British, under the command of Captain Conolly, of the 18th regiment. The fort was reveté with stone, flanked by many works, and surrounded with palisades and abattis: nevertheless, it was thought that it might be stormed in a night attack, if at the same time that the real attempt should be made, strong diversions should be directed against the flanking forts, to keep them from acting in favour of the besieged. Five batteries were likewise raised by the republicans on the 14th, and armed with artillery to pour into the forts assailed.

On the night of the 16th—17th of December, in the midst of storm, thunder, and lightning, the divisions of Labarre and Victor advanced against Fort l'Eguillette, while General Lapoype assaulted

Fort Faron. Labarre and Victor should have advanced against different faces of the former work, but in the confusion they met together opposite the same under a cruel fire of musketry and artillery, and were instantly led forward up the hill on which the fort stands. The commissaries accompanied the troops and animated them by their presence and example. Their first attempt was unsuccessful, but at length the men succeeded in assisting one another on their shoulders and in rushing through the embrasures at the recoil of the pieces; and in this way, and with fresh men continually brought forward to assist in the attack, they got possession of the work, but not until 3000 of the original 5000 that had comprised the garrison, and General Victor, and a great many republicans were put *hors de combat*. Against Faron, General Lapoype advanced in two columns; the fort was well defended, and the rocks hurled down on the assailing column, but they made good their entrance and took it; the other, directed on the *Pis de Leidet*, found that post so weakly guarded that they got possession of it without the loss of a man, and soon rendered the further fire from both forts unavailable. Another detachment went forward to Fort St. André, which they also seized. All this took place in the course of the night, and at daylight the tricoloured flag was seen to fly upon all these forts. Thus was the British line of defence broken in upon at its two most essential points, and the ships in the harbour and the town itself overawed by the very cannon which had been mounted for their protection. Many of the ships were obliged immediately to unmoor and seek a safer position.

In this state of things a council of war was held in the allied camp, wherein it was resolved unanimously that Toulon must now be evacuated. Orders were accordingly sent to the troops to maintain their posts as firmly as possible, while the requisite arrangements for embarkation should be made. The Neapolitans at Malbousquet did not await the decision of the council of war, but, while it was actually sitting, went away ignominiously: the rest were withdrawn by degrees, and concentrated about Fort Lamalque, ready to embark the moment the conflagration of the shipping in the port should signal their withdrawal. The important service of destroying the ships and magazines, which was one of great danger, was entrusted to Captain Sir Sidney Smith, who executed it with a resolution and a degree of order and precision that was most marvellous. Shot and shell from the forts in the possession of the enemy were fearfully plunged into the very arsenal, but fortunately had the effect of alarming and sending off the galley slaves, who could otherwise have risen against the British. At ten o'clock in the night of the 18th—19th the trains leading to the different magazines and storehouses were on a preconcerted signal ignited. A fire-ship had been towed by the boats under Captain Charles Hare into the basin, and in a few hours gave out her contents of fire, explosion, and shot. The flames ascended in terrific grandeur, and at sight of them a cry arose in the republican army, calling on their chiefs to lead them at once to the assault of their ruthless enemy.

The rapid spread of the fire unfortunately laid open to view all who were aiding in this perilous duty, and the enemy's batteries were thus enabled to open upon distinct objects in every quarter with deadly effect, when suddenly a tremendous explosion, wholly unexpected, awed all into silence for some minutes, after which the firing recommenced on every side. Admiral Langara had undertaken the destruction of the ships in the basin, and to scuttle and sink the two powder vessels, but in their hasty and premature retreat from the service that they had undertaken to perform, the Spaniards, instead of scuttling her, fired the "Isis" frigate, loaded with gunpowder, and this had caused the explosion, which did immense mischief, but was happily unaccompanied with much loss of life. A second powder vessel, the frigate "Montreal," exploded subsequently with a concussion greater even than the first.

The commencement of the conflagration of the shipping had been the signal for evacuating the place, and the whole of the troops embarked and were on board the fleet by daylight on the morning of the 19th, without the loss of a man. The destruction of the ships and magazines would have been more complete but for the blundering or treachery of the Spaniards, and the pusillanimous flight of the Neapolitans; but the total number of vessels taken or destroyed by the British was eighteen of the line, nine frigates, and eleven corvettes. The fire did not reach, or at least did not materially injure eight other ships, neither did the vessels on the stocks take fire to any extent. With respect to the buildings, the smaller store-houses only were consumed; the grand magazine, *Le Grand Hangar*, and the rope-walk escaped the ravages of the flames. The French army entered the town at early morning, and their first care was to extinguish the flames; but all who know the horrors of an assault must be prepared for some of the scenes that followed, which were, however, aggravated by the barbarity of the commissaries. "*La mort de tous les habitants fut ordonnée par le Comité de Salut public avec la démolition de la ville.*" French writers say, that when the British entered Toulon the town contained 28,000 souls, and that a few weeks after they quitted it there were but 7000 left; but it was thought that nearly 15,000 escaped unhurt on board the British fleet and boats.

"The vast proportion of the defenders of Toulon were men from the fleet; whether as artillerists in the batteries, or musketeers in the field, they contributed their aid always with cheerfulness, and never without effect. Their skill and bravery in action, not less than their strength and activity in the many laborious duties incident to a service so full of difficulties and dangers as the one they had engaged in, afforded a theme of praise and admiration to all who had seen their exertions, and witnessed their undaunted courage<sup>1</sup>."

### 39. NAVAL WAR.

During the time that Toulon remained in the possession of the allied forces, a formidable insurrection broke out in Corsica against

<sup>1</sup> James.

the republican government of France, and General Paoli sought the aid of the English, assuring Lord Hood that even a few ships of war off the island would greatly assist the popular cause. Accordingly, in the month of September, Commodore Linzee was despatched with three ships of the line and two frigates, and stood across for San Fiorenzo, when on the 1st of October a force was landed for the attack of the town and redoubt of Forneilli, but owing to some mistake as to a range of the guns, and to a want of co-operation on the part of Paoli's adherents, the expedition failed of any result. The offers of the Commodore did not persuade, neither did his force intimidate the garrisons.

In a week or two after the declaration of war against England, a French squadron under Rear-Admiral Sercey had been despatched from Brest to the West Indies, and a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, under Vice-Admiral Morard-de-Gallis, had assembled about the same time in Quiberon Bay. The necessity on the part of England of despatching squadrons to stations at a distance from home, occasioned some delay ere a British fleet could be got ready of sufficient strength to cope with these hostile preparations. It was not indeed till the 14th of July that Admiral Lord Howe could set sail from St. Helen's with the Channel fleet of fifteen sail of the line and a few frigates and sloops, and in the mean while, on the 19th of June, the first encounter between ships of war had occurred in the Channel, when the "Nymph," 36, Captain Edward Pellew, captured the "Cléopâtre," 40, Captain Mullon, an officer of considerable distinction and promise. The ships descried one another at day-break and came at once to blows; a furious action forthwith commenced, the two frigates running before the wind within rather less than hailing distance of each other; after about half an hour's contest, the mizen-mast and wheel of the French ship were shot away, and the two ships got foul of each other, when the "Cléopâtre," having been thus rendered unmanageable, was boarded by the "Nymph's" crew, and in ten minutes the tri-coloured pendant was hauled down, and the French frigate submitted, having, after an action of eighty minutes, lost her truly gallant captain killed, and her three lieutenants all wounded. Captain Mullon was the inventor of the code of signals then used along the French coast, and had always a copy of it in one of his pockets; during his short death-agony he thought of its destruction, and drew out a paper, which he erroneously supposed the right one, and died biting it to pieces. The code remained in his pocket, and was found of considerable service.

The British 16-gun brig "Scourge," Captain Brisac, captured, on the 13th of March, after an action of three hours, the French privateer "Sans Culottes," and on the 14th of April the squadron under Rear-Admiral Gell captured a Spanish galleon under French colours, and another privateer called "General Dumouriez." On the 13th of May the "Iris," 82, brought to action the frigate "Citoyenne," 32, but the former losing all her three masts was compelled to let her adversary go, whose masts, though much cut by shot, were all standing, but who now hauled to the wind and escaped. On the



27th of May the "Venus" and "Semillante" came to action and exchanged broadsides with no result. In the same month the "Hyena," 24, Captain William Hargood, being on a cruise off Hispaniola, fell in with "La Concorde," a frigate of 40 guns, and after a severe and spirited conflict, the British captain was obliged to surrender. On the 31st of July the British frigate "Boston," 32, Captain Courtenay, engaged by invitation out of New York Harbour the French frigate "L'Embuscade," 32, Captain Bompart; after an animated fire the English frigate lost some of her masts and rigging, her captain and other officers were killed, and her first Lieutenant, Edwards, though badly wounded, took command of the ship, and put it before the wind under all the sail he could set. The French frigate, which was nearly as crippled as the English, stood after the "Boston," but could not get up with her, and they soon altogether lost sight of each other. On the 19th of October the British frigate "Crescent," 32, Captain James Saumarez, laid wait off Cape Barfleur for the French frigate "Reunion," 32, Captain F. A. Denian, who was seen coming in from the seaward at day-break of the 20th. A spirited action ensued, in which both frigates lost their masts and yards, but after a brave conflict of two hours the "Reunion," having become utterly defenceless, struck her colours: for this action Captain James Saumarez was knighted. On the 22nd of October the "Agamemnon," 64, Captain Horatio Nelson, on his way to join Commodore Linzee's squadron, when off Sardinia had a gallant running fight of three hours with three French frigates, a corvette, and a brig; although the "Agamemnon" had her maintopsail cut to pieces, and her masts and yards badly wounded, yet these ships left her unmolested and pursued their route. On the same day, cruising to the westward of Ushant, the frigate "Thames," 32, Captain Cotes, saw the French frigate "Uranie," 40, Captain M. Tartue, on a wind standing for her. An action now commenced and was continued with great spirit on both sides, until the "Uranie" getting under the stern of the "Thames" gave her two or three raking broadsides, and then attempted to board her on the starboard quarter, but on receiving through her bows a well-directed fire from six or seven of the "Thames'" maindeck guns double-shotted, the "Uranie" threw all her sails back and hauled off to the southward; her loss was said to have been very severe, including her captain. The "Thames" suffered so severely in her hull, masts, and rigging, that she could steer but one course, and that was right before the wind. Judging that she would be soon attacked by her antagonist, Captain Cotes commenced immediately to refit, in order to receive her, when suddenly four sail made their appearance, and came upon her under English colours. As soon as the first came up, she ranged up under the stern of the "Thames" and gave her a broadside, but the British ship was in such a defenceless state after her action with the "Uranie," that she at once struck her colours to the frigate "Carnagnole," 40, Captain Zacharie Allemand, having in her company "Resolue," 36, "Semillante," 36, and the brig-corvette "Esplégle," 16. On the 25th of November the

"Penelope," 32, Captain Rowley, and "Iphigenia," 32, Captain Sinclair, cruising off St. Domingo, discovered and chased the French frigate "L'Inconstante," 36, and captured her after a smart cannonade. On the 1st of December the "Antelope" packet, Captain Curtis, fell in near Cuba with two French schooner-privateers of formidable appearance: the "Atalante," one of the two, chased her during that and the following day, and the wind failing, took to her sweeps and soon swept up alongside of the "Antelope;" having grappled her on the starboard side, she attempted to carry her by boarding, but the assailants were driven back with great slaughter. Captain Curtis was however killed, and the first mate shot through the body, and other casualties occurred, so that the command had devolved on M. Pasco, the boatswain, who repulsed several other attempts to board, until the privateer having had enough of it, endeavoured to cut herself loose; but the boatswain observing this, ran aloft, and lashed the schooner's square-sail yard to the "Antelope's" fore-shrouds. He immediately ordered a volley to be poured into the privateer, which was so well directed that the crew called for quarter. The unparalleled bravery of M. Nodin, who had been in the French navy, and was now a passenger on board the British ship "Antelope," deserves a record. He stood by the helm and worked the ship, armed with a musket and a pike; but when he perceived the men of the "Atalante" climbing up the quarters, he quitted the helm and with the pike despatched such as came within his reach, returning at proper intervals to right the vessel, and thus killed or disabled several men. The House of Assembly at Jamaica voted 500 guineas to be distributed among the crew of the "Antelope" for their gallant defence; but there was no honour at this period of the war that could be conferred on the brave boatswain, Pasco.

#### 40. WAR IN THE WEST AND EAST INDIES.

As soon as the news of the war reached Barbadoes preparations were made for offensive operations; and as the island of Tobago had been taken from the British in the late war, and the French had been confirmed in the possession of it at the peace, it was thought now to be a first object to retake it. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, Major-General Cuyler with a detachment composed of artillerymen, marines, and about 500 men from the 9th and 60th regiments, embarked on board the flag-ship of Sir John Laforey, the "Trusty," 50, Captain Drew, who in company with a sloop and schooner arrived on the 15th and summoned Lieut.-Colonel Montech, the Commandant of the island; on his refusal, and in defiance of round-shot, grape, and musketry, the troops entered with their bayonets fixed, and with the loss of three men killed and twenty-five wounded, took the fort of Scarborough. Some conjunct expeditions were made against Martinique and St. Domingo, which were successful, but as there was no fighting in either colony, it is not necessary to notice them further.

Information that war had been declared by France against Great Britain reached Calcutta on the 1st of June, and measures were

adopted for taking possession of the different French factories in India: many yielded without resistance; but on Pondicherry being summoned, the Governor, Colonel Prosper de Clermont, refused submission. On the 20th of August, accordingly, a bombardment was commenced against the place, which was smartly returned, and siege works were in progress, when on the 23rd a capitulation was signed by Colonel Braithwaite, and the place again occupied by the British. While the siege was being carried on, the "Minerva," 38, Rear-Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, arrived, and effectually prevented the French frigate "Cybèle" from throwing in supplies and reinforcements into the garrison.

#### 41. FINAL PARTITION OF POLAND.

The courts of Petersburg and Berlin, actuated by the same selfish objects that, indeed, disgraced the councils of all the other powers, were, at this time, principally intent upon a further partition of Poland. In the beginning of the year the King of Prussia had already seized upon Thorn and Dantzic. The diet assembled at Grodno made a protest against the injustice, and applied to the Empress of Russia for her protection, but in March the Czarina published a manifesto, in which she gave her imperial reasons for resolving to annex a yet larger share of Poland to her own dominions. A second dismemberment speedily took place, and in the distracted state of the unfortunate kingdom, it was effected without opposition. The Russian General Ingelstrom, on the 11th of October, occupied, with the forces under his command, all that portion which had been left to Stanislaus, while a large Prussian corps advanced into the northern portion of the Republic to support Ingelstrom. The former power seized upon as much territory as contained about three millions and a half of population, while Prussia appropriated to herself as much as was occupied by eleven hundred thousand inhabitants.

### 1794.

1. WAR IN POLAND.—2. WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—3. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.—4. WAR ON THE BELGIAN FRONTIER—SIEGE OF LANDRECY—AFFAIR OF BRITISH CAVALRY AT VIL-  
LERS EN CAUCHIE.—5. PICHEGRU ADVANCES WITH ALL HIS  
FORCES TO RAISE THE SIEGE—BRITISH CAVALRY AFFAIR NEAR  
CATEAU.—6. CLAIRFAIT DEFEATED AT MOESCHROEN.—7. COMBATS  
NEAR COURTRAY AND THE MARQUE.—8. BATTLE OF TOURCOIN.—  
9. BATTLE OF TOURNAY OR PONT-À-CHIN.—10. REFLECTIONS.—11.  
THE AUSTRIANS SUCCESSFUL ON THE SAMBRE.—12. YPRES BE-  
SIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.—13. AUSTRIANS ARE AGAIN  
SUCCESSFUL ON THE SAMBRE.—14. CHARLEROI BESIEGED AND  
TAKEN—BATTLE OF FLEURUS.—15. THE ALLIED ARMIES RETIRE  
BEHIND THE DYLE.—16. THE BRITISH AND AUSTRIAN ARMIES  
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OF ROBESPIERRE.—18. NIEUPORT CAPITULATES, AND THE "LOYAL

EMIGRANTS" ARE MASSACRED.—19. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.—20. BRITISH NAVAL WAR—CAPTURE OF CORSICA.—21. NAVAL VICTORY OFF USHANT ON THE 1ST OF JUNE.—22. CAPTURE OF THE FRENCH WEST INDIAN ISLANDS.—23. WAR IN LA VENDÉE—DEATH OF LA ROCHE-JACQUELIN.—24. WAR ON THE PYRENEAN FRONTIER.—25. BATTLE OF LE BOULOU.—26. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.—27. INVENTION OF THE TELEGRAPH.—28. RESIGNATION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE GENERALISSIMO PRINCE OF COBURG.—29. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—FRENCH BESIEGE TREVES.—30. WAR IN HOLLAND—PICHEGRU ADVANCES UPON THE BRITISH ARMY.—31. FIGHT AT BOXTEL—WELLINGTON FIRST UNDER FIRE.—32. BATTLE OF THE ROER—AUSTRIANS CROSS THE RHINE.—33. THE DUKE OF YORK DRIVEN ACROSS THE MEUSE—COMBAT AT BOMMEL.—34. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF VENLOO AND NIMEGUEN.—35. THE BRITISH ARMY RETIRE BEHIND THE RHINE, AND THE DUKE OF YORK RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—36. GENERAL DAENDELS CROSSES THE ICE, AND DRIVES BACK THE DUTCH.—37. THE FRENCH DRIVEN BACK ACROSS THE WAAL.—38. WAR IN LA VENDÉE AND BRITTANY.—39. WAR IN THE PYRENEES.—40. BATTLE OF ST. MARCILL AND CAPTURE OF FUENTERABIA.—41. DUGOMMIER INVADERS SPAIN, AND IS KILLED—THE SPANISH GENERAL LA UNION IS KILLED.—42. WAR IN THE WEST INDIES—GUADALOUPE RETAKEN BY THE FRENCH.—43. NAVAL WAR.

### 1. WAR IN POLAND.

The tyranny exercised by the partitioning powers of Poland proved so intolerable, that the people were driven to an open insurrection. Notwithstanding its dismemberment, its spacious provinces still held a population of eight millions, bound together by ancient associations. A band of patriots at Warsaw resolved, at all hazards, to attempt the restoration of their independence, and knowing that Kosciusko was at Leipsic, they sent him a deputation to invite him to place himself at their head. This chief and patriot had received a military education in France, and had shared in the campaigns of the American war under Washington: ardent in his love of liberty, and enthusiastic in the cause of his countrymen, his prudence suggested to the conspirators that the attempt would, at the moment, be premature; and he accordingly removed himself to Italy, to avert all suspicions. But when the disarming of the 2000 men, which had been all the army that had been left to Stanislaus, began, in February, Kosciusko returned to the Polish frontiers, and now Colonel Madalinsky, cantoned at Pultusk, placed himself at the head of his regiment, and marched away with it, unbroken, into Galicia. Kosciusko was sent for in all haste, and entering Cracow on the 23rd of March, he closed the gates of that city, and proclaimed the insurrection.

Madalinsky had been actively followed by General Denisof, but had surprised a Prussian detachment at Miawa, and succeeded in joining Kosciusko at Cracow, who, by means of other regiments which had also revolted, and some armed peasants, now found him-

self at the head of 5000 men, with whom he determined to sally out of Cracow, and give battle to the first body of Russians which might come against him. Accordingly he encountered Denisof, on the 8th of April, at Raslovice, where he was attacked by that General in a position well protected on his flank by a wood and a ravine. The Russian General Tormasof, with 3000 men, was sent to outflank him, but Kosciusko fell upon him, and in this attempt, seconded by Zajonzek, would have overwhelmed him, but for the opportune arrival of Denisof to the support of his subordinate at the fall of night, who in the course of it, however, thought it prudent to desist and fall back, having lost 700 or 800 men. This action, inconsiderable in itself, was important in some of its consequences; for it enabled the peasants, who had been only armed with scythes, to exchange them for the offensive weapons of the captured and slaughtered Russians; and this first gleam of success encouraged the insurrection in the adjoining provinces. The news of the success at Raslovice extended to Warsaw, and excited such enthusiasm in that capital, that, on the 17th, the brigade of the Dialinski guards rose upon the Russian garrison. Ingelstrom had posted himself, with two battalions, in the narrowest part of the city, where the insurgents fell upon him, isolated from the rest of the Russian troops. General Novieski, thinking to escape the dangers of street fighting, had quitted the city, instead of marching to the relief of his chief; but Major Titow, with a battalion of grenadiers, cut his way back, and joined Ingelstrom at nightfall. After a prolonged and obstinate contest for thirty-six hours, the Governor, finding no more than 700 or 800 men left with him, forced his way out of the town, and reached the Prussian camp, and the flag of independence was hoisted on the towers of Warsaw.

Kosciusko naturally hoped that the Polish troops who had taken service with Russia upon the first division of their country, and who were from 16,000 to 18,000 in number, would now hasten to join his standard, and some few did so; and these were principally the cavalry, who could more readily escape from the Russian ranks, and elude pursuit; but the infantry could not so readily march away, as they were dispersed and cantoned with Russian regiments. The Czarina, however, felt the difficulty of watching them, and, accordingly, despatched orders to Suwarrow, and, by the energy and activity of this great commander, the Poles were disarmed, brigade after brigade, to the number of 8000 men. Soltikow also effected the same result in several regiments under his command. By thus destroying the nucleus of a powerful army, the rising was put a stop to, effectually, in the provinces of Podolia and Volhynia.

Nevertheless, at the end of some weeks, Kosciusko had got together nearly 40,000 men. But this force was well seen by this patriotic chief to be insufficient to make head against such odds as he would soon be called upon to contend against. He wanted money, likewise, for the kingdom was impoverished by the events of the past years; the troops, moreover, were imperfectly armed, and the officers to be obtained in Poland were vastly inferior to what con-

stituted that class in other countries. Worse than all, he did not possess a single fortified place, or any nucleus round which to organize a force, which rendered the danger of his undertaking daily more imminent.

As soon as the insurrection was known, the partitioning powers were on the alert. The King of Prussia put himself at the head of 80,000 men: Suwarrow received orders from his imperial mistress to gather together all the troops upon the frontier, and to enter Poland, while General Fairat, from Silesia and Hungary, marched upon Cracow.

Aware of the necessity of striking a blow before the enemy had united his forces, Kosciuszko only waited to be joined by General Grochowski, when he again advanced upon Denisof, in ignorance that that General had been joined by the Prussian King. The enemy was upon him as soon as day broke, when fifteen Prussian battalions and sixteen squadrons attacked his left, fourteen Russian battalions and thirty-four squadrons fell upon his centre and right: under such circumstances, the battle was not long doubtful, and he would have been crushed, but for the firmness of Prince Sangusko and for the enfeebled state of the Prussians, who had marched five hours before going into action.

On the same day (the 8th of June) the patriot General Zajonczek was defeated by the united corps of Generals Dorfelden and Zakroosky at Chelm, and the Prussians obtained possession of Cracow; but in the north of the kingdom the patriots were more fortunate, for Jasinsky had collected a considerable corps in Samogitia and near Wilne, had roused Courland, and made incursions as far as Riga. Kosciuszko had now to attend to the civil dissensions natural to his position, and repaired to the capital. Here he exerted himself to restore order, and gave up the instigators to dissension amongst his followers to condign punishment. He occupied an intrenched camp outside Warsaw, in which he collected 25,000 men, to protect the approaches to the capital. Here Zajonczek was attacked by Fersen, on the 8th and 9th of July; but the King of Prussia, knowing that his means were insufficient to force the camp, caused siege-guns to be sent up from the arsenals of Dantzic and Thorn, which delayed all further proceedings till the end of August. The insurgents were, in the mean while, on the watch for the Prussian convoy, which was advancing by Wraslawech. A private gentleman, named Minewsky, had the good fortune to come up with this at Koval with a body of peasants, and destroyed and dispersed it completely, notwithstanding the activity of General Shwerin, who endeavoured in vain to pursue and recapture them. The mischief that had been done by this was so considerable, that the siege of Warsaw was rendered impossible; accordingly the King marched away, on the 6th of September, leaving a portion of his sick and stores in the hands of the patriots.

Such an event naturally brought great honour to Kosciuszko; the insurrection spread immensely; and the Poles soon mustered nearly 80,000 men under arms. But while they were still under the intoxica-

tion of their success, news arrived of a defeat of Sirakowski, at Krupczin, by Suwarrow, which must now be related. Here the Poles had been advantageously posted at the confluence of some marshy streams, where they had well placed a numerous artillery, but, ignorant of the near approach of their enemy, they had been completely taken by surprise; for the Czarina, impatient at the continuance of the insurrection, had sent to rouse Suwarrow to more activity; who, uniting himself now with some divisions on the road, arrived, on the 17th of September, at Kobrin, with 14 000 men, and without a moment's hesitation or delay, fell on the Polish advanced guard, before they were aware of an enemy's presence. He had outstripped his artillery, and had to make an attack across ground almost impassable, but he was not a man to quail before any difficulties: and so, by means of fascines and branches cut from the trees, he defiled a corps of infantry, in small bodies, across the marshes, with four small field-pieces, carried in the arms of the soldiers, while the cavalry made a long detour to get round the Polish flank. These coming up together, fell on Sirakowski with such vigour, that the Polish General could only hope to save himself by placing his army in squares, and in this manner attempt a retreat. The Russian cavalry, however, charged the squares, broke them, and compelled the men to fly for safety into the woods. Here the infantry came upon them, and, notwithstanding that one detachment contrived to check their advance in the convent of Krupczin and to cover the retreat, the insurgents had difficulty in finding a temporary protection behind the Bug at Brzesca. Suwarrow did not allow them time to recover themselves even here, but came up with them again on the 19th. Sirakowski drew up across the chaussée to receive his enemy, but the Russian General very prudently sent a corps of infantry under Buxhowden to pass the fords of the Bug on his left, while General Islanief marched on the other flank with thirteen squadrons and a quantity of Cossacks. No sooner did Sirakowski see these divisions boldly cross the river than he determined to retreat, as he had done before, in squares; Islanief fell however upon them, but the horsemen were so well received by the insurgents, that it was not till Buxhowden had sent Schewitsch, with some chasseurs, to their aid, that they could force the Poles to yield their ground, and retire to take up a new position at Koroschin. Here they were again attacked both by Schewitsch and Islanief, who, sending some battalions round into the woods to cut off their retreat, at the same time charged the squares in front and flank till they were quite cut up: the remainder, after a glorious resistance, were driven into the woods with the loss of 4000 men and twenty-eight guns. Sirakowski fled with the 3000 men that were left him to Sielce, and Suwarrow, at the head of 10,000 men, encamped at Theresopol.

Upon receiving accounts of this disaster, Kosciuszko resolved to draw together all his detachments, and to fall upon Fersen before he could get across the Vistula to join Suwarrow, but the Russian General secured his passage over the river at Kozienice on the 25th of September: this disarranged the patriot General's plans; he,

however, repaired to Lukow to place himself at the head of such men as Sirakowski and he could get together, and he now marched to Ockracha with the intention of driving Fersen back, but on the 3rd of October he found himself in presence of Fersen at Maciejowice, before Poninsky, to whom he had sent orders to join him, could come up to his assistance. The Russian General immediately resolved to attack, and although Kosciusko would rather have deferred the battle, yet, sooner than retreat, he accepted the battle on the 4th. The forces of the opposing parties were nearly equal: Fersen had 12,000 and Kosciusko about 10,000; but the Poles were very inferior troops to the Russians. Kosciusko, while hourly expecting Poninsky to come up, defended himself against the attack in front gallantly; but his talents, his valour, his desperation were unable to support the contest against numbers; he found his left wing was already outflanked by Denisof, at the head of some squadrons of cavalry and a host of Cossacks, who threw it into utter confusion. The insurgents took to flight, and Kosciusko, already bleeding with two wounds, was doing his best to rally them, when he received a third shot that stretched him senseless on the ground, and he fell into the hands of the Russians, a prisoner.

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,  
And freedom shriek'd, as Kosciusko fell".

After the fall of Kosciusko, Suwarrow, who had come up speedily to Fersen after his victory, determined on pressing on towards the capital. On the 23rd of October he encountered and defeated Mokrouowski at Kobilla, and on the 2nd of November presented himself at the head of 25,000 men before Praga, the suburb of Warsaw. He clearly saw that at this season of the year it was needless to undertake a siege, and being more familiar, after the experience of Oczakof and Ismael, with the influence of a bombardment and an assault, he at once determined on this course. In the night of the 4th of October three grand batteries were raised and armed, and while the Polish soldiers were expecting the slow proceedings of a siege and an investment, Suwarrow led forward his army at daybreak in seven columns, under a heavy fire from the ramparts; the ditches were rapidly filled up with fascines; the defences were destroyed by the artillery, which also set fire to the wooden houses of the suburb; and the Russian troops poured into the intrenched camp with a vigour and boldness that increased with their success. They followed the flying enemy from the fields into the suburb. Jasinsky and Grabowski met with honourable deaths in trying to restore order among their men, but these now fled to the bridges over the Vistula, which broke down under them, and the citizens of Warsaw saw from the other side of the river, with

<sup>1</sup> It will interest the admirers of this true patriot chief, brave fellow, and enterprising leader, that he was kindly treated by the Russians, and set at liberty, after two years' confinement, by the Emperor Paul. He died at Soleure, in France, in 1817, having steadily refused every offer of employment from Napoleon, whose selfish designs on Poland he early divined.



grief and dismay, their defenders perishing by the sword, the water, and the flames, without having the means of rendering assistance or averting the evil; 10,000 men fell in the conflict, 9000 were made prisoners, 12,000 were put to the sword; but the tragedy was at length ended. Warsaw capitulated two days afterwards. The remains of the Polish army tried to keep the field under Poniatowsky, but were followed and cut to pieces by Fersen and the Russians; and thus the oldest republic that had existed in modern times expired, a victim to its own corruptions and internal dissensions, and a prey to the insatiate ambition of sovereigns who are ever eager to acquire territory and people, but do not know how to advance the prosperity of the one, nor enough cultivate the other even to their own advantage.

## 2. WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By sea and land, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, a war against the dominions of France had now commenced by all the powers of the world, and but for the faults of her adversaries and her own unparalleled exertions she would have been at this time buried, with all her crimes, in the tomb of the Capets. But that selfishness and self-interest, which is alike a disgrace to nations and to crowned heads as to individuals, distracted the hostile exertions of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia. These sovereign powers, under pretext of serving what they called the cause of Europe, were, in truth, considering their own ends and aims, and the real object of the war became a secondary matter. "The memorable campaign that had just terminated is probably the most remarkable in the history of the world. A revolt that seemed destined to shake the very cohesion of the social existence of France; an invasion which had burst through the iron barriers of the North-East, and even threatened the Alpine and Pyrenean frontiers, appeared to lay Paris, the enemy's capital, at the mercy of the invaders. But, as if by magic, the allied armies were held back; the valour of the Vendéens becomes irretrievably arrested; the exertions of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon to throw off a bloody, tyrannous yoke are paralyzed, and horribly retaliated; the discomfited English are driven from Dunkirk and Toulon. The Austrians in confusion have escaped to the other side of the Rhine. The Prussians have recrossed the boundaries. Valenciennes and Quesnoy alone remained to any enemy on the soil of France. For these immense advantages the Convention was indebted to the energy of its measures, the wisdom of its councils, and the activity of its agents. In the convulsion of society, not only wickedness but talent had risen to the surface. If history has nothing to show comparable to the crimes which were committed at this period, it has few similar instances of equal undaunted resolution and prowess to commemorate. If the cruelty of the internal administration of the state exceeded the worst despotism of the Roman Emperors, the heroism of its external conduct rivalled all that has been recorded of any other people<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Alison.

. It has been said of Carnot, "Il organisait la victoire;" and at this time he administered with sleepless and untiring energy the affairs of fourteen armies from his hôtel at Paris. The French blood was fairly roused. Indignant that the soil of their country should have been invaded and occupied by the foreigner, and that the flag of the stranger should be flying over their own strongholds, the people of France flocked in troops to the armies, which already numbered nearly 800,000 men, while the allies could only bring forward about half that number to oppose them, and were already divided and at dissension among themselves. The consequences might have been anticipated; the French army, too strong to be withheld at home, was carried across the frontiers, and the war was removed to the banks of the Elbe, the Waal, and the Yssel. Generals of an immortal reputation soon appeared upon the scene: Jourdain, Pichegru, Moreau, Kleber, Macdonald, Lefebvre, Marceau, Championnet, Dugommier, Moucey, led the French troops to glory, and the revolution principle was clearly enunciated and acted upon, that war should be carried into the enemy's country, to be maintained there at the enemy's expense.

The first event of military importance this year was the resignation by the Duke of Brunswick of his command of the Prussian armies in the field. His Highness gave this reason for retiring, in the letter he addressed to the King on the 6th of January: "When a great nation like France is conducted by the terror of punishment and by enthusiasm to an unanimous sentiment, the same principle ought to prevail in the measures of the combined powers. But when instead thereof, each army acts separately and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are sure to be such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, at the storming of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the raising of the blockade of Landau. This list must make an epoch in the history of this unfortunate war, and I have the misfortune of being implicated in it. The reproach will fall upon me, and the innocent will be confounded with the guilty. Prudence requires I should retire, and honour advises it. Every thing is to be feared if confidence, harmony, uniformity of sentiment, of principles, and of actions, do not take place of the opposite sentiments, which have been the source of all the misfortunes of the past two years." Of this distinguished General (of whose brilliant exploits in Frederick's wars, as "The Hereditary Prince," it is not necessary again to speak) the truth must be stated, that he was irresolute in conduct, and perpetually a prey to the apprehension that the great military reputation which he had acquired as the companion in arms and friend of Frederick of Prussia should be endangered. He was unwilling to hazard this by further continuing to be mixed up in the contest with revolutionary France, of the perils of a contest with whom his peculiar clearness of judgment already foreshadowed the extent, and the inefficiency of the coalition to succeed in it. Moreover, the Duke of Brunswick was sufficiently behind the scenes to know that Prussia, intent on territorial acquisition on

the shores of the Vistula, had begun to waver in the sincerity of her hostility against France, and had already beheld with serious alarm the progress of the insurrection in Poland, which appeared to threaten her new possessions there. He knew that the King in person had at this very time assembled there 40,000 men, and was in consequence obliged to diminish his forces on the Rhine, which he had announced to his allies would be reduced to the contingent of 20,000 men, which he was obliged to furnish as a member of the Empire. Orders were accordingly despatched to Marshal Moellendorf, who had succeeded to the command of the Prussian army on the Rhine, to send back the troops in excess of this number by divisions towards the Elbe. Mr. Pitt, of all the statesmen of this day, most clearly perceived the full extent of the danger that threatened Europe from the breaking up of the confederacy against revolutionary France, and while he deeply regretted the withdrawal of the Duke of Brunswick from the command of the Prussian armies, and appreciated its ill influence, he desired to employ all his influence to bring back the cabinet of Berlin to a more national policy: he succeeded in staying the evil of the moment by concluding a treaty at this period between Prussia, Holland, and Great Britain, by which Prussia should retain 62,000 veteran troops in the field, for which she should be subsidized by the maritime powers. General Mack, an adventurer, but a soldier of military abilities of the first order, was sent over to London to arrange a plan of campaign by which the whole allied army should act in unison, and it was then determined that the Imperialists should march by way of Landrecy and Laon on Paris, while the Prussian forces should support the operation by a forward movement on the side of Namur. This manifestly ought to have been the plan adopted in the preceding campaign: it was now too late, as will be seen by the following table of the relative strength of the opposing armies:—

FRENCH.		ALLIES.	
Armies of the North } and of Ardeunes . }	283,452	Army in Flanders . . .	140,000
„ Moselle and Rhine	201,713	„ of Duke of York . . .	40,000
„ Alps and Italy . .	103,593	„ of Austrians on Rhine	60,000
„ Eastern Pyrenees .	70,508	„ of Prussians on do. .	65,000
„ Western Pyrenees	50,782	„ of Luxembourg . . .	20,000
„ Interior . . . .	84,286	„ of Spaniards . . . .	55,000
	794,334	„ of Sardinians . . . .	50,000
		„ of Emigrants . . . .	12,000
			<u>482,000</u>

### 3. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.

The first hostile operation on the French frontiers took place on the 13th of January, when General Hoche sent General Marchant to undertake the siege of Fort Vauban, still held by the Austrians within the French territory. The garrison no sooner saw themselves invested than they sallied out to level some works on the

left bank of the Rhine, which had been raised to destroy the bridges of communication across the river. On the 14th they were driven back with such serious loss, that they determined the very same night to take measures for quitting the fort altogether; they accordingly commenced their mines, and had actually blown up some outworks, when the French, who detected their intentions, assaulted and took the place on the 19th. General Marchant, as soon as he found himself in the fort, endeavoured to extinguish the train that had been laid to ignite the mines, but a great portion were already discharged, and the Austrians crossing the river burned the bridges after them, which prevented all further obstacles to their escape.

Hoche would have wished to have pursued the broken armies of the Austrians and Prussians, so as to have carried the war into Germany; but the government, satisfied at Alsace having been delivered from the foe, directed the army of the Moselle to occupy that province as well as Lorraine, and to abide the result of the operations that were about to open on the Northern frontier. The frank, and perhaps indiscreet, language of General Hoche in these discussions, brought him soon under the displeasure of the Convention, and he was ordered to Paris, where he was imprisoned in the Conciergerie, and Jourdain was named to succeed him in his command. Some affairs of little moment occurred during the months of March and April, when the new General thought he had an opportunity of establishing himself upon the communications of the allied armies, by getting possession of Arlon, where General Beaulieu commanded a division of 12,000 Austrians. On the 17th of April he detached General Vincent to occupy Mertzig, while he himself marched on against Beaulieu, whom he found intrenched in front of Arlon with a numerous artillery; but all his endeavours to storm them this day proved ineffectual. On the 18th, at break of day, under the guidance of Colonel Chasseloup, who knew the ground well, he made such dispositions for a renewed attack that he drove the Austrians out of their works, leaving some of their guns behind them, and Jourdain placed General Hatry in Arlon with a sufficient force to watch the movements of the allied armies. These were thus cautioned: the Austrians across the Rhine with a bridge and *tele du pont* at Mannheim, the Prussians on both sides of that river above and about Mayence.

#### 4. WAR ON THE BELGIAN FRONTIER—SIEGE OF LANDECEY—AFFAIR OF BRITISH CAVALRY AT VILLERS EN CAUCHIE.

Pichegru had been named General-in-Chief of the army of the North, and his principal force lay between Cambray and Guise. Opposed to him was the Prince of Coburg, with from 90,000 to 100,000 men (for a corps under General Clairfait was detached), camped on the plains of Cateau, awaiting the arrival of the Emperor to commence offensive operations. Disputes had arisen respecting the command of the confederated armies, the Duke of York refusing to serve under General Clairfait. It had been at length arranged, therefore, that the Emperor Francis should in his royal person as-

sume the supreme command, his Royal Highness consenting to serve under his Imperial Majesty. A general reconnaissance, of which the ulterior object did not appear, was made by the French General on the 29th of March, which brought on some fighting at the outposts, that cost the French 700 or 800 men, as also some guns. On the 16th of April the Emperor arrived, and took up his head-quarters at Englefontaine, and passed the whole army in review on the plains of Cateau, and orders were then given for a forward movement on the following day, in eight columns. The three left columns crossed the Sambre at Ors and Catillon, and drove before them the division of Fromentin (who fell back by Landrecy, upon Maroilles, where they had thrown up a *tête du pont* over the Little Helle), and the troops of Balland and others on Nouvion and Guise. The division of Goguet was driven back to Prémont by the fourth and fifth columns under the command of the Duke of York, when a detachment of the hussars of Esterhazy and a squadron of the 16th light dragoons, under General Lippert, charged and took four guns and a howitzer, as the French retired; while another charge of the hussars of Zetschlitz, with four squadrons of the 15th light dragoons, captured two guns and a colour on the same occasion. On the same day Landrecy was invested by the Dutch division under the Prince of Orange, the Duke of York being placed with his army in observation towards Cambray, and the Prince of Coburg between Guise and Avesnes. General Clairfait with his corps made at the same time a strong reconnaissance on the side of Lille, and advanced to Annapes. These movements created some uneasiness to Pichegru, as it cut off the connexion of his army between Cambray and Guise, and left Maubeuge and Avesnes ill-provisioned for an attack, and it became a question with him whether he should retire on Philippeville; but the Duke of Coburg was intent on the capture of Landrecy, according to the plan of campaign determined upon, and was not to be diverted from it even by more tempting combinations. On the 20th the Dutch corps led by the Swiss brigade of Paravicini, and supported by an Austrian division, carried the camp of Preux-aux-Bois, under the works of Landrecy, with a determination and gallantry worthy of their best days. The siege was not, however, a very lively affair, so that an anecdote is told of a Dutch Major, who observed to Orlandini, the Austrian engineer, "On est assez sûr dans les tranchées, mon Colonel." "Oh! pour cela," was the reply, "on ne meurt ici que de l'ennui." The French would not, however, permit the siege to continue without some hostile demonstrations, and accordingly, on the 21st, Generals Duvigneau and Duhesne advanced from the French camp at Guise, and drove General Alvinzi across the Sambre to Bergue; but General Balland failed in an attack he made, in which the French troops were driven back with the loss of some guns, and General Goguet was killed in an attack made by him against the Duke of York near the forest of Arrouaize. On the 24th the garrison of Cambray made a demonstration towards Villers en Cauchie. The Duke of York immediately detached General Otto with two squadrons of the hussars of Leopold,

and two squadrons of the 15th dragoons, which were ordered to be supported by General Mansell, with the blues, King's dragoon guards, royal dragoons, 16th dragoons, and the cuirassiers of Zetschirtz. Otto, with some of Leopold's hussars, and two squadrons of the 15th light dragoons, came unexpectedly on the enemy, and charging vigorously drove them back upon a strong body of infantry and cavalry (it was said 10,000 men) who occupied the outskirts of the village. The old General, under a mistaken supposition<sup>1</sup> that the person of the Emperor was in danger, addressed the handful of men with him, that they must rescue the Emperor, or bear the dishonour of his capture. "We will save the Emperor!" was the unanimous response, and in spite of musketry and grape they rushed upon the infantry in line, and rode down the front rank. The French cavalry had endeavoured to form behind these, but old Otto dashed at them until they fled in a wild panic, the glittering sabres of the conquerors gleaming over them like lightning. Had General Mansell not mistaken his orders, not a man of them could have escaped, and some fifty guns would have been the trophy of the day instead of three; but this General did not arrive in time to offer any assistance, and the French were enabled to get off in safety to Bouchain and Cambray. The loss of the English in this affair was fifty-seven killed and seventeen wounded. The extraordinary disproportion of the numbers shows the wonderful resolution and pertinacity of the troops engaged, and the way in which they were rewarded shows their distinguished gallantry. On this occasion the Emperor ordered a gold medal to be struck to record it, and presented an *exemplaire* to each of the officers engaged; and afterwards, in 1800, when the statutes of Maria Theresa were enlarged so as to admit foreigners, the eight British officers engaged in this affair each received a cross of that order<sup>2</sup>. General Alvinzi was now directed to clear the forest of Nouvion, and succeeded in re-establishing his Austrian force on the plateau between the Sambre and the Little Helpe. In the mean while the artillery of the allies was plainly heard by both armies in the trenches before Landrezy; the first parallel had been completed and the batteries had been armed with forty-four heavy guns and sixteen mortars, all of which were ready to open in a formidable bombardment of the town, when Pichegru determined on its succour by making, as a diversion, a forward movement of the whole French army for the invasion of Flanders. On the 26th, accordingly, a general movement was undertaken by the whole line from Dunkirk to Philippeville, in order to pierce through some por-

<sup>1</sup> Prince Schwartzburg's certificate makes this clear: "The advance of the enemy *might have* caused the most fatal consequences in respect of the journey of his Imperial Majesty from Valenciennes to Catillon."

<sup>2</sup> So unusual were military decorations at this period in England, that these officers, supposing decoration and knighthood to be synonymous, assumed the title; and Sir Robert Wilson, who was one of them, though he was afterwards covered with all the ribbons of Europe, yet had no British order, and was never admitted by his own Sovereign a British knight.

tion of the great extent of the allied armies. The plan was skilfully laid and had been long maturing; and may be concisely described as an attempt to turn the two wings of the allies, one on the side of West Flanders, and the other through the country between the Sambre and Meuse, and thus to force them to a retreat, while a formidable attack on their centre should relieve Landrecy. Thus their whole army was put in motion from the Meuse to the ocean, from Philippeville to Dunkirk, on the same day.

#### 5. PICHEGRU ADVANCES WITH ALL HIS FORCES TO RAISE THE SIEGE—BRITISH CAVALRY AFFAIR NEAR CATEAU.

The army of the Ardennes, commanded by General Charbonnier, was directed to effect a junction with the army of the North, by advancing from Philippeville upon Beaumont; but the Austrian corps of General Count de Kaunitz occupied in the way the heights of Bossut. Charbonnier successfully attacked Kaunitz while Desjardins drove the emigrants' legion out of Chaudeville, which opened to him the road to Beaumont, and thus on the 27th Charbonnier's forces effected their junction with the army of the North.

The right of the French central attack, for the relief of Landrecy, was entrusted to General Ferrand and General Billaud, who were to advance from the side of Novion and Etreux; but General Chappuis, with 25,000 men and seventy-nine guns, was to strike the principal central blow from Cambrai. This latter advanced, on the 26th of April, in three columns; the left one moved on Solesmes, and the other two on the high road to Cateau and Ligny, against the position of the Duke of York, who was posted behind Troisville. Chappuis, in command of the two latter columns, succeeded in driving back the outposts of the British at Bethencourt and Audancourt, and in getting possession of the village of Troisville, from whence they advanced against the intrenched camp before Cateau; but Lieut.-Col. Congreve, of the artillery, plied them so well with grape from the foremost redoubt, that they were glad to desist, and even to retire back from the village. The two French columns marched so near each other, that they got entangled in one another's lines, which the Duke perceiving, his Royal Highness ordered forward all the cavalry to move rapidly and to turn the enemy at Bethencourt, while under cover of a heavy cannonade he might lance forward his light infantry against the retiring columns. General Otto, with the Austrian cuirassiers of Zetawirtz and the two British brigades of Mansell and Vyse, immediately galloped off, and came suddenly on 2000 French infantry and cavalry with fourteen pieces of cannon in the village of Caudry. The cavalry fled at the first attack to Cambrai, but the infantry, with the guns, could not get away, and were captured; following up his success, Otto came upon the rear of the whole division of Chappuis, who was near Audancourt. A brigade of French cuirassiers, sent out to the support of these troops, found themselves stopped, in the direction of Ligny, by General Dundas, with a brigade of British light dragoons and German hussars, who forced them to return with some loss. General

Otto, with his cavalry column, leaving Dundas to follow the fugitives, attacked the French infantry formed in two lines with their left on Audancourt and their right on a farm-house called La Coquelet, and at the same time the Prince of Schwartzburg, with a regiment of Austrian carbiniers, came up on the French left flank. Thus taken in flank and rear, they fled right and left—a large portion of fugitives, with eight pieces of cannon, laid down their arms with little resistance: but another portion, with fourteen guns, were rallied near Montigny, where they were joined by Chappuis himself and part of the column from Ligny. Otto coming up, sent forward the brigade of Mansell against this body of infantry, who was received with such a terrible fire of grape, that both he and his aide de-camp were laid low: but Colonel Vyse taking the command, charged them vigorously and pushed on into the midst of the enemy, who fled on all sides, and surrendered themselves with all their guns, the French commander, Chappuis, in whose pocket there was found the whole of Pichegru's plan for investing Flanders, giving up his sword to Major Tideman, of the 3rd British dragoon guards. Prince Schwartzburg, with the Austrian grenadiers, shared in the glory of this action, and followed up the flying enemy so quick, that none of the British infantry could come up to take part in the action. It was in this gallant affair that Cotton (afterwards Lord Combermere), the distinguished British Cavalry General of the Peninsular war, first "smelt powder." The loss to the enemy in this battle was nearly 4000 men, with thirty-five guns. The British had two officers and fifty-four men killed, and four officers and about 100 men wounded. The Austrian loss was yet smaller. In consequence of the information derived from the papers of the captured General, the Prince of Coburg and the Duke of York the same night detached thirteen battalions and six or seven regiments of cavalry towards St. Amand, and four days later the Duke of York with his whole army broke up from Cateau, and proceeded to Tournay to reinforce the Austrian division of Clairfait. Landrecy surrendered on the 30th, and the garrison, 6000 strong, became prisoners of war. The intrenched camp at Maroilles still, however, remained in the hands of the republicans.

General Ferraud had ordered General Montaignu to advance from the sides of Piches and Maroilles, where he was opposed by the Austrians under Alvinzi, who being wounded at the first onset, the Archduke Charles took the command, and by the aid of the brigades of Kray and Kinsky drove back the enemy across the Little Helpe, with the loss of some guns. The Archduke gained much credit from the ability and valour with which he conducted these operations. The sortie from the French intrenched camp of Maroilles upon General Kray was made hastily and without support, and the republican forces fell back with some loss to their former position.

#### 6. CLAIRFAIT DEFEATED AT MOESCROEN.

Pichegru's grand attack was to be made on the side of West Flanders. On the 25th the garrisons of Dunkirk, Bergue, &c., as-



assembled and marched on Furnes, out of which they drove the small garrison of loyal emigrants, and then advanced to threaten Ypres. A stronger force of nearly 50,000 men had been collected at Lille, under Pichegru himself, and on the 26th these divided themselves into two corps, and the one under Souham advanced on the road to Courtray, and the other under Moreau on Menin.

General Clairfait was in command of the corps that was to defend West Flanders: his troops, consisting of about 25,000 men, occupied Tournay, Moescroen, and Lannoy, with detachments at Menin and Courtray. He also, as he conceived, effectually watched the enemy by a corps of Hessians at Denain, on the Scheldt, under General Wurmb. These were attacked on the 23rd, in a way that denoted a serious intention, and Clairfait's attention was immediately drawn to it, but while he repaired to this quarter the French appeared suddenly to the north of his position. Clairfait had a post at Moescroen commanded by the Hanoverian General Wangenheim, which lay in Souham's communications between Lille and Courtray. It was on this quarter that, on the 28th, the republican General fell, and after a fight of four hours carried the intrenchments there and at Castrel, and captured 1200 men, with thirty-three guns, a great number of muskets, and four colours. After this he at once proceeded to form the siege of Courtray. General Moreau, on the same day, turning to the left from Moescroen, advanced on both sides of the Lys on Menin, where he shut up the Hanoverian General Hammerstein, with the remainder of his division. Clairfait, deceived by the false attack on Denain, had repaired to the defence of that post, but as soon as he heard of these events he hastened to return to Tournay. From thence, on the 28th, he advanced against the French and attacked General Bertin at Moescroen, and drove him back to Tourcoin; and General Jourdain, at Aelbeck, was at the same time obliged to yield the post and retire on Belleghem; but Clairfait thus rashly interposed himself between two fires, the one on the side of Lille and the other of Courtray and Menin. Nevertheless, he took up a strong position with 18,000 men in two lines, having his right behind Loinge and his left on the mill of Castrel. General Souham, as soon as he heard of this advance, got together the brigades of Macdonald and Daendels, and uniting himself with that of Jourdain advanced the same night against Clairfait. Moreau at the same time returned from Menin, and on the 29th in the morning recrossed the Lys and fell on General Walmoden at Moescroen, whom he forced to retire on Deynse; for the Hanoverians, after stoutly defending their position for some hours, mistook the arrival of Clairfait's troops for the French, and fled away from them, leaving their guns and throwing away their arms. Daendels and Macdonald had attacked the Austrian position in front, and Bertin now returning from Tourcoin advanced against it on its rear. The mill of Castrel, which formed the key of it, garnished with artillery, was stubbornly defended for four hours, when Clairfait, wounded, and finding enemies on every side of him, endeavoured to withdraw his troops; but this soon ended in a complete rout, and leaving guns and every thing behind them, some flying to Oudenard

and some to Tournay, he himself repaired to the latter place. Thirty-three guns, four colours, and 1200 prisoners were the trophies of the day to the republicans. The French soldiers, flushed with these successes, were now urgent on Moreau to let them advance to the assault of Menin, but he prudently held them back: in the mean while, the Hanoverian General Hammerstein finding himself isolated and unequal to the defence of that place, cut his way out of it on the 30th, retiring with eleven guns and all his "bag and baggage" to Rousselaer, which he reached in safety. The French then quietly took possession of the place, which was well provisioned both with "munitions de guerre et de bouche."

#### 7. COMBATS NEAR COURTRAY AND THE MARQUE.

The Duke of Coburg, immediately Landrecy had fallen, detached, as has been already observed, the Duke of York to Tournay, and at the same time sent the corps of the Prince of Orange and the Austrian divisions of Latour, Alvinzi, and Werneck to reinforce the camp of Prince Kaunitz, upon the Sambre, all of whom marched to their destinations on the 7th-10th of May. The corps of Kinsky at the same time marched away to Tournay, and the Archduke Charles with a strong corps took post at St. Amand and Denain. Carnot immediately directed Jourdain to march up from the Rhine to the army of the Moselle, with 15,000 men, and to take the supreme command over the two commanding Generals Desjardins and Charbonnier. This proceeding will be found to have had a considerable influence on the future operations. The Duke of Coburg on his side ordered General Clairfait, with his broken army, to quit Tournay, upon the arrival of the Duke of York, and to assume the offensive for the recovery of West Flanders.

Clairfait accordingly set off on the 8th of May, in order to recover Courtray, and crossing the Lys at Harlebecq, advanced against the brigade of Vandamme, at Heule, who retired before him to join Moreau in Courtray, when Clairfait took possession of the fauxbourg of the town, on the side of Bisseghe. The French General Souham had marched in precisely the opposite direction, as far as Dottignies, where not finding an enemy he doubled back on his old camp at Aelbeck, but now hearing of Clairfait's march he from thence crossed the Lys at Menin, on the 11th, and sent forward Macdonald upon Moorseele, to take his adversary on his right flank and rear. The brigades of Daendels and Dewinter were sent at the same time to reinforce Vandamme at Courtray. All being now in their places, they advanced on Clairfait, who had assumed a good position, resting his flanks on the two chaussées, the one that led on his right to Menin and the other on his left to Bruges. It was three in the afternoon before the fight began, and it continued till ten at night. The Austrian advanced guard bravely disputed the débouchées out of the town, and when at six o'clock the French succeeded in getting through the fauxbourg, Clairfait brought up his reserve, and his cavalry in a brilliant charge scattered the brigade of Daendels; but the Austrian General thought it prudent to take advantage of dark-

ness to draw off his troops and retire upon Thielt; this, isolating him effectually from the Duke of York's army, was a virtual defeat; otherwise no result followed to either side from the engagement but the loss of some 1200 men, including the Austrian General Wenckheim. Macdonald could not get up in time from Moersle to take part in the combat, or it might have ended very differently. Clairfait had the good fortune, which he could scarcely have expected, of being joined at Ingelmuuster by a detachment of British troops who had just arrived from Ostend, under General White, and were now united with the Hanoverian garrison of Menin under Hanmerstein and the brigade of cavalry of Colonel Linsingen. This corps of allies immediately moved forward to cover Clairfait's retreating army and to stop that of the republicans.

But Pichegru, thinking the Duke of York to be weaker than he proved to be, determined to make an attack, the same day, on the two extremities of his Royal Highness's position behind the little river Es-pierre on the north, and the Marque on the south. The French troops crossed the latter stream shortly after daybreak on the 10th, in force, and soon carried the village of Basieux, which was well defended by an outlying detachment of British light troops, who fell back towards the camp. The French now advanced with a good countenance, occupied Camphin, and threatened to attack the Duke's position between Lamain and Blandain. They might have succeeded in turning the British right at the latter village, but for the brave resistance of the regiment of Kaunitz, who had been happily sent by the Archduke to occupy the wood of Bachy, on the great road from Orchies. The Duke of York, however, observed that the enemy might be assailable to an attack of cavalry in that direction, and accordingly directed Lieut.-General Harcourt, with sixteen squadrons of British light horse and two of Austrian hussars, to move in the direction of Cysoing, while Dundas's brigade, with Sir Robert Laurie and Vyse's regiments of heavy horse, were sent after him in support. A brigade of British infantry was ordered to follow towards Basieux and Camphin to facilitate the attack of the cavalry. Harcourt readily overturned the small body of the enemy's cavalry sent against him, but coming upon their infantry, was received with a smart fire and with the bayonet, and was thus checked until he could get up some guns; but as soon as the French saw the increase of troops in their front they retreated from Camphin, crossed the high road in front of Basieux, and made for the village of Willem. The British artillery now opened and told with good effect upon the enemy's retreating columns, who retreated with precipitation across the Marque, leaving thirteen or fourteen guns behind them. Dundas's brigade succeeded in breaking in upon two battalions, scattered them, and took 400 prisoners. The French attacks on Dottignies and Espierres, which were defended by the Hanoverians, were somewhat more successful, for these were driven back as far as Warcoing; but the French retired again the following day, and the Hanoverians re-instated themselves in their old position.

### 8. BATTLE OF TOURCOIN.

The allied position now extended from St. Amand to Thielt—the Archduke at the former place, the Duke of York at Tournay, Hammerstein with White at Thourout, and Clairfait at Thielt—an extent of sixty English miles! On the 15th the Emperor arrived at Tournay, and the Dutch troops were brought back to the Duke's camp in front of that town. A plan was now concerted by Mack, which had for its object to envelope the whole French army, by drawing back Clairfait across the Lys, concurrently with an advance from Tournay upon Menin, thus cutting off Pichegru from his communications with Lille and the French frontier. This plan was denominated "Le plan de destruction," and was calculated to interpose the allied army, 90,000 strong, between the French frontiers and their army; but it was based on the antiquated rules of former days, to be carried out by multiplied subdivisions of troops, which could only be brought into the field with a combination impossible for any one head to execute with the precision that was demanded to make it successful. The Generalissimo accordingly directed six columns to march simultaneously on Tourcoin: the right, under General Busch, from Warcoing; the second, under General Otto, moved on Watrelos; the third, under the Duke of York, on Iannoy; the fourth, under Kinsky, on the chaussée to Lille; the detached corps, under Clairfait, from Thielt; and that under the Archduke from St. Amand. It was necessary, for complete success, that the French should remain inactive in their camps between Courtray and Pont-à-Marque while this band was tightened around them.

On the 16th Clairfait, with twenty-five battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, began his march to cross the Lys at Werwick, advancing on Lincelles. The same day the Duke of York, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, advanced on Mouvaux, while General Busch, with ten battalions and ten squadrons of Hanoverians, attacked Moescroen; Otto marched, with thirteen battalions and eleven squadrons of Austrians, to Tourcoin; and Kinsky, with twelve battalions and sixteen squadrons, crossed the Marque at Bovines, and together with the Archduke's corps, which crossed at Pont-à-Marque, was intended to restrain the garrison of Lille from advancing on the Duke of York's left flank.

Pichegru happened to be absent with the army of the Sambre at the moment of these movements, but Morcau and Souham got wind of the preparations making, both at Tournay and Moorseele, for the "plan of destruction," and took the bold resolution of marching forward to Tourcoin, in the very midst of the enemy, to secure and defend their communications with Lille.

Clairfait encountered considerable resistance in establishing his bridge at Werwick, which, in fact, retarded him there till the morning of the 18th, so that he could not arrive to fulfil his part in the combination. General Busch marched from Espierres and Dottignies and reached Moescroen, where the French were intrenched; but they defended themselves so well, that although they could not prevent the

village from being occupied, yet General Thierry checked them until Souham was enabled to send a reinforcement from Tourcoin, who now in their turn assailed the Hanoverians, and drove them all the way back to Espierres. Otto had advanced as far as Tourcoin, driving the brigade of Compère before him on the way to Moescroen, but coming up with some of Busch's fugitives, they so alarmed the General with their tidings (exaggerated, as usual, by runaways), that Otto thought to establish his advance on Tourcoin, and secure his retreat by the occupation of Watrelos and Leers, so that he halted his column, which thus occupied near three miles of road.

The Duke of York conducted the third column in person, but on arriving at Roubaix found that the enemy was there in such force of both infantry and cavalry, that he was obliged to send forward General Abercrombie with the British guards, the free corps of O'Donnell, and the 7th and 15th light dragoons. After a sharp cannonade, he succeeded in driving the French through the town and establishing himself in front of it. Here his Royal Highness was disposed to have remained the night, till he could hear of the progress of the flanking columns, but a positive order arrived from the Emperor that obliged him to proceed to Mouvaux, to hold the *champsée* between Lille and Menin, and where he might expect to form a junction with Clairfuit's advancing column. The Duke found that this place was very strongly intrenched, but he at once ordered Abercrombie, with four battalions of guards, to advance; after the artillery had made some impression these troops moved resolutely forward, stormed, and got possession of the redoubt. When the French retreated, the cavalry under Churchill charged and cut down some 300 of them, and the remainder retired to Bondues, leaving three guns behind them. His Royal Highness was now under the necessity to occupy this post, while he had to observe Croix on the side of Lille and the enemy on the side of Tourcoin, and accordingly he took up his head-quarters at Roubaix.

The French Generals saw the immence of the occasion, and in the night set their troops in motion on every side. By the delay in Clairfuit's advance, the communications were free and open the whole way from Menin and Courtray to Lille. Availing themselves of this, a combined attack on the allies was concerted for the next morning; Daendels was ordered to move from his camp at Pollenberg by Aelbeck and Loinge upon Watrelos; Thierry from Castrel was to march by Moescroen on the same point; General Souham with 45,000 men was to march by the high road from Menin on Tourcoin; while Bonneau from the side of Lille, leaving a detachment under Osten and Baillet to check any advances of Kinsky and the Archduke, was to march rapidly through Wasquehal, to fall upon the Duke of York's flank. His Royal Highness's line of march extended from Lannoy to Mouvaux. At three in the morning of the 18th the French were in motion; at daybreak they attacked Otto at Lannoy, who sent to the Duke for assistance, who immediately sent off some battalions of Austrians under Colonel Déry, while he himself endeavoured to join the guards at Mouvaux;

finding that impossible, he returned to unite himself with General Fox at Roubaix, but found the enemy already in the suburbs, and being thus foiled, his Royal Highness was forced to seek his personal safety on the side of Watrelos, where he came across Daendels' column, and had to trust to the speed of his horse to carry him in safety to Leers. The village of Lannoy was occupied by some Hessian battalions, who resisted the attack of the French from Lille, but were overpowered and obliged to surrender. Abercrombie had fortunately received the order from the Duke to retire on Roubaix, which he did therefore, though exposed to a continued fire; but nevertheless, he only just succeeded in regaining that place, and in uniting himself to General Fox's brigade; for finding Lannoy in the possession of the enemy, he had some difficulty in getting to the left of that place, and was obliged to sacrifice some guns and all his prisoners, but eventually reached Templeuve in safety. He, of course, lost many killed and wounded in this dangerous flight. The ability and coolness with which Lieut.-General Abercrombie and Major-General Fox conducted their corps under such trying circumstances did them much honour; but nothing could equal the madness that dictated the Emperor to order the Duke to push forward, after his Imperial Majesty must have known of the check to the progress of the columns of Otto and Busch, for it might have altogether compromised the British column. The Emperor, however, did the British the justice to acknowledge publicly, that the Duke of York's column was the only one of the five that completed the service expected from them. His Royal Highness, in a general order, condoles with his army on the loss of the artillery, "which, being the first that has fallen into the hands of the enemy, in the field, may afford them matter of triumph;" but he exonerates from all blame, and praises the "courage and conduct of the troops."

It remains to be explained how this column came to be attacked from the side of Lille, when the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, with thirty-one battalions and forty-eight squadrons, were supposed to be between it and that fortress. The Archduke appears to have expected orders from the Duke of Coburg, which never arrived, and so he rested at Lesquin, on the high road from St. Amaud, satisfied with the possession of the French camp at Sainghin. Nor did any of his troops stir again till towards four in the afternoon, when they moved across the Marque to Cherang, where they collected some of the fugitives of the different columns, which they reunited to their own unbroken divisions. General Kinsky had found the French General Bonneau, on the 17th, in the camp at Sainghin, who retired before him to Tressin, where he found General Wurnb, with the Hessian brigade; but the French \* General, instead of defending himself any longer from these petty attacks, boldly turned round and assumed the offensive: and Kinsky would have probably suffered, but that the larger portion of the British cavalry, commanded by Sir William Erskine, instead of following the Duke of York to Lannoy, mistook their road, and thus came up most opportunely to the aid of Kinsky's column. Bonneau, how-

ever, did not now rest so inactive as the Germans did, for leaving some battalions to amuse the allied troops, he at once marched off, in the night of the 17th-18th, with about 16,000 men to Wasquehal, and at daybreak fell on the flank of the Duke of York at Roubaix, as we have seen, with such fatal effect, while his opponents slept in their bivouac. Clairfait, on his side, had never even heard the firing, and knew nothing of what had been going on, until on the 18th he encamped at Lincelles, and next day was attacked by Moreau; but when he found the French in possession of Turcoin, he saw he had arrived too late, and therefore he carried off with him some nine guns and prisoners which he had captured on his way, and consoled himself with this "trophy" in the midst of a most signal and complete defeat of the army of which he formed a portion; with these he was too glad to get back in all haste to his old quarters at Thielt; while the Anglo-Hanoverian corps, under Hammerstein, again took post at Thourout. In the course of his advance from Lincelles, on the road to Roncy, he was preceded by an advanced guard of two squadrons; one of the 8th British light dragoons and one of Hessians, under Colonel Hart. These found themselves suddenly enveloped by a large division of the enemy: called upon to surrender, they bravely resisted, and cut their way, sword in hand, to Bousbeck, where they rejoined the Imperialist General, with the loss of two-thirds of their numbers. The loss of the allies in the battle of Tourcoin is estimated at 3000 men, with sixty pieces of cannon.

Generals Moreau, Souham, and Bonneau laid the foundation of their military glory in the battle of Tourcoin. Pichegru did not return from the army of the Sambre till the next morning: and now from some cause or other, in lieu of following up the broken and disorganized army which his lieutenants had so utterly defeated, he remained inactive till the 22nd, when he was only excited to activity by the prospect of intercepting a convoy coming up from the Scheldt; but the French soldier was not easily restrained in those days, and whether their Commander-in-Chief desired it or not, they could at any time force him to a general action.

#### 9. BATTLE OF TOURNAY OR PONT-À-CHIN.

The Duke of York had taken up a position to cover Tournay, having his right upon the Scheldt behind Pont-à-Chin; the centre between Templeuve and Blandain; and his left in front of Lamain; a rivulet running along the entire front. The advance of General Busch was considerably in front at Espierres; the Archduke Charles's corps was before Lamain in rear of the left. The French army began to approach at five in the morning of the 23rd. The brigade of Daendels marching on the chaussée leading from Courtray attacked Busch at Espierres, who being sorely pressed, General Fox with a brigade of English was sent to his support; this kept the enemy sufficiently in check to enable the Hanoverians to pass the Scheldt by a bridge at Warcoing, and take post on the right bank of that river. Daendels doubted for a moment whether he should follow them across the river (for they had retired too hastily to remove the

bridge), but he resolved against it, burned the bridge, and posted himself at Perq. Macdonald with the next column, passing by Daendels on his march to watch the Hanoverians, marched forward; General Thierry more to the right, and Compère more still, all under the chief command of Souham, marched by Estampuis and Watrelos against the British position, destined to attack the right and centre of it. Bonneau at the same time moved on Templeuve, whence he pushed forward the brigade of General Salm to attack a battery at Blandain, while General Osten threatened the extreme of this flank from Willem. The outposts having all retired before the enemy's advance, Bonneau found himself obliged to withdraw Salm, who was driven back from his assault at the redoubt in confusion; the other attempts on the right flank were readily repulsed by the troops of the Archduke; but at Pont-à-Chin Macdonald was more seriously occupied: he is said to have employed a new method of attack, particularly adapted to give superiority in an enclosed country. At the head of his columns he placed artillery with riflemen, and under their concurrent fire advanced in confidence upon the British; five times he took that post, and five times was driven out of it. Souham ordered Thierry to cross the stream, but not being properly supported by Compère, that attack failed to render Macdonald any service, although some of his tirailleurs did even penetrate to the hedges in front of Froienes, a short league from Tournay, where indeed they held their ground till near five in the afternoon. The fire, both of artillery and musketry, in these encounters, is said to have been heavier than the oldest soldier on the field had ever witnessed. From the returns of expended musketry on both sides, it is said to have been the greatest musketry battle of the whole war, for the number of bodies left in the orchard, the scene of the principal contest, was said to be terrible. At this time the Duke, feeling the vast importance of holding Pont-à-Chin, sent for the division of General Fox, which had been passed across the river, and the Prince of Coburg sent up seven Austrian battalions and a large body of cavalry to assist in driving back the enemy; with this assistance the British possessed themselves of the village at the point of their bayonets. Fresh reinforcements also came up from other quarters, and the French on every side were driven back across the rivulet; Macdonald therefore called three battalions to cover his retreat, and got back at nightfall to his position of the morning. The fatigue of the day, after fifteen hours' fighting, did not admit of pursuit by the British, so that but for the trophy of a few guns, the massacre of some thousands of men was all the result of this sanguinary affair, in which it is said at least 9000 men were placed *hors de combat*. Had Clairfait been in line instead of some leagues off on the other side of the Lys, or had the British brigades of White and Hammerstein been with their countrymen, the French might have been very roughly handled; as it was, it was an undoubted defeat of the French, of which the Duke of York deserved all the honour.



## 10. REFLECTIONS.

It may be remarked very generally that justice is rarely rendered to the British armies by continental writers on war, and this battle of Pont-à-Chin is an example of it; it may be admitted that the fault is very much our own, for no department of British literature is confessedly so bare as the military branch of it. Neither the British generals nor troops were answerable for the reverses at Hondchoote or Tourcoin; but the service of their artillery, and the skill of their engineers at Valenciennes; the renown of their cavalry at Villers en Cauchie and Cateau, which had resounded to the very extreme of the empire; the extraordinary bravery of their infantry at Lincelles, Prémont, Mouvaux, and Pont-à-Chin, deserved notice, if not from the "Victoires et Conquêtes" of the French, at least from the impartiality of such an authority as Jomini, and certainly from German writers, who should not speak of the "Schlacht bei Tournay" as a victory of the French. A battle which lasted from five in the morning till nine at night, exclusively directed against the corps of the Duke of York posted on the right of the position in front of Tournay at Pont-à-Chin; a loss of about 6000 to the enemy together with 500 prisoners and seven pieces of cannon, and the object of the assailants completely foiled, is an unquestioned claim to victory; yet I am not aware that any even of our own histories speak of the British victory at Pont-à-Chin. It is true that the fatigue of the day and the deficiency of cavalry rendered the Duke of York unable to follow up his success; but General Pichegru, finding that he could make no further impression in this quarter, altogether desisted from any further attempts against the British, and resolved to carry the theatre of war elsewhere; consequently the Emperor returned to Vienna, and Prince Coburg repaired to the Imperialist army on the Sambre, leaving the Duke of York alone at Tournay, where he occupied himself in forming an intrenched camp, to provide for its safe defence, until the results of the battle of Fleurus again called upon him to take part in the reverses of the allies. It is well known that a bloody decree had been passed by the Convention, which was dated this very day, ordaining that no quarter should be given to any garrison which should not surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons. The Duke of York immediately noticed it thus in general orders: "His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which naturally arises in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses upon receiving this information. In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generals as well as brave enemies. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place the instant that opposition ceased, and the same has frequently covered those who were wounded, friends and enemies indiscriminately, when conveyed to the hospital of the conquered. The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French people, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their

character as soldiers as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to their rulers; and therefore his Royal Highness trusts that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of abhorrence to the National Convention alone, persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour or one principle of a soldier."

#### 11. THE AUSTRIANS SUCCESSFUL ON THE SAMBRE.

It will be remembered that it was part of Carnot's project to accomplish his great object of driving the allies out of the Netherlands, by augmenting the French army on the Sambre, and that the army, called "of the Ardennes," under Charbonner, had been united with the army "of the Moselle" commanded by General Desjardins; the united forces amounting now to 50,000 or 60,000 men. These were intended to operate the same diversion on the left of the allies as Souham and Moreau had executed on their right, and Jourdain was now rapidly advancing from the Rhine with a strong reinforcement to assist the same object. The Austrian army, commanded by Prince Kaunitz, was intrenched behind the Sambre, near Merbes, having strong advanced posts at Hantes and Thuin. At break of day of the 10th of May the republican army advanced against it in seven columns: Marceau on the right marched straight on Thuin and drove the Austrians into that town, while Duhesne coming up on his right turned them in their retreat, and forced them to get over the river near Lobbes; the French on the following day crossed the river lower down, at the Abbaye d'Alnes. General Despeaux at the same time carried Hantes with his division, and drove the enemy across the river into their position at Merbes, but not, however, until an attack by Fromentin and Marceau was successfully repelled by the Austrians. On the 12th Marceau came up from the side of Fontaine l'Evêque and even penetrated to St. Genevieve and Vellereille, which induced the Austrians to withdraw altogether from the camp, which yet remained, across the river at Hantes, and retiring out of the village of Merbes, they now took up their intrenched ground with their right at Grandreng, their centre at Rouvroi, and their left behind Binch; here they were joined by Werneck's corps, sent by the Prince of Orange from Denain. On the 13th the divisions of Muller and Despeaux were ordered to attack the right of this position, and Fromentin the centre, while Favreau was to sally for a diversion out of Maubeuge, and Marceau to make demonstrations from the side of Binch and Mons. Muller, after some success at first, was driven back by the Austrians from his attack upon Grandreng in great confusion. Fromentin in his attack of the centre had his horse killed, and was himself so bruised, that he was obliged to quit the field, and Duhesne took his command, but the Imperial cavalry fell upon this division near the village of Peclun, and in their charge cut the 10th light infantry of the republicans to pieces. The Austrians having thus relieved themselves from the French attack, took in their turn the offensive, and marched forward against Duhesne, Despeaux, and Muller, and

obliged all three divisions to recross the Sambre. This affair cost the republican army 4000 men and twelve pieces of cannon, and was very honourable to Prince Kaunitz, who gained the victory.

The commissaries, intent on the capture of Charleroi, insisted on another attempt against the Austrian position; and the French army was again carried across the Sambre on the 20th of May, and took up a position facing the Austrian General, with the left at Erquelinne, and the right at the Abbaye de Bonne Espérance: the division of Despeaux forming a second line in the wood of Saliermont. On the 21st Prince Kaunitz advanced to attack the republicans in this position, and so little was he expected that the French troops were hardly in position. The French cavalry under General Hautpoul debouching from Grandreng were overturned, and the Austrians advancing upon the ground between Erquelinne and the wood of Saliermont, completely scoured it of the enemy, and drove the brigade of Poncet off the field. Kleber advised his superior officer to order an attack by General Mayer on the Austrian left, near Bonne Espérance, which had rested inactive, as a means for retrieving the day, but Desjardins and Charbonnier were content to stand still, and remained impassive in their position, with their back to the Sambre. On the 24th Kleber was sent to make a grand forage in the direction of Fontaine l'Evêque with 15,000 men, and Kaunitz having obtained information of this intention, moved forward his left to take advantage of the absence of so many troops on this diversion. General Fromentin was leisurely encamped at Pechant. The Austrians advanced against him at daybreak, surprised him, and forced three battalions to lay down their arms; another attack was made upon Muller and Despeaux in their intrenchments at Erquelinne; and another on General Mayer at Bonne Espérance: but while the Austrians were driving the enemy before them into the river, Kleber, hearing the firing, returned quickly, and checked the Austrians in their pursuit at St. Genevieve, but seeing he was already too late to repair the mischief, he rapidly marched to his left to Lobbes, where he stopped the Austrians till Mayer had time to come up, when they all repassed the Sambre to rally the army afresh behind that river. In this gallant and successful operation of Kleber's, the Brigadier Bernadotte first distinguished himself. The French lost in this affair 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and twenty-five guns. Baron Schroeder, following up the success, entered the town of Fontaine l'Evêque, after a brilliant affair of cavalry, and found there a considerable convoy collected by Kleber, which he captured and carried away.

The commissaries were still urgent on the generals to make another attempt across the Sambre, but the troops were so disheartened by failure and by fatigue, without shoes or provisions, that the commanders advised rest and time to repair their disasters: but the civilians called a council of war at the head-quarters at Thionville, the matter was under calm discussion, when the town of Thionville was taken by storm, and an end put to all further debate by declaring the republic: *choisissez entre un* *une république*. Jourdan was hourly expected with reinforcements.

from the army of the Moselle, and every thing counselled delay; nevertheless, these commissaries had been proved too dangerous to set at defiance, and accordingly the army was immediately put in motion for an attack the very next morning, the 26th of May. Marceau, with the brigades of Duhesme and the cavalry of Hantpoulx, crossed the river near Marchienne-au-Pont, and seeing how much depended on a first success, at once advanced with nine battalions and four regiments of horse against the camp of the Austrians at La Tombe, just above the bridge. Muller and Despeaux passed over near the Abbaye d'Alnes, and Vêzu, crossing the river higher up, covered the right. Fromentin attempted to pass at Lernes, but was caught by some Austrian batteries right and left of his passage, and forced to give up the attempt. The troops of General Marceau, however, having reached the shelter of a wood, positively refused to advance further. Kleber, seeing many of the men to be Alsacians, harangued them in German, but to no effect. Nevertheless the Austrians, ignorant of their difficulties and perplexed at the intention of the republicans, or not knowing how to take advantage of their position, quitted their camp of La Tombe, and retired through Marchienne, leaving only a small garrison there, to defend it against the approach of the enemy.

The Prince of Coburg having some time deliberated whether to defend Tournay or Charleroi, at length resolved upon the latter; and the Emperor of Germany quitted the camp near Tournay to save Charleroi. Kunitz, in the full tide of victory, was unfortunately now recalled to Flanders, and the separate command on the Sambre devolved on the Prince of Orange.

The French commissaries, elated at the most unexpected result of their attack on the 26th, resolved upon another advance on the 29th, to invest Charleroi. Marceau, in consequence, directed Duhesme to attack Marchienne, the wall of which was créneléed, and defended by artillery; nevertheless, the French brought their guns to bear so as to ruin these defences, and were thus enabled to reach the bridge over the Sambre. Duhesme crossed the river, immediately followed by Fromentin, and Marceau took up a position at Gosselies; so that on the 30th they were enabled completely to invest Charleroi. Mayer was entrusted with the siege of the place; Muller and Despeaux were left to guard the passage of the Sambre against the Austrian advance from Thuin; and at Maubeuge, Ferrand, with his garrison, kept watch against all opposition by way of Landrecy and the forest of Mormale.

The Emperor arrived on the 1st of June, with reinforcements, and the allied army, under the Prince of Orange, now comprised thirty-nine battalions and sixty-one squadrons, Dutch and Austrians, in all some 35,000 men, but he left 6000 or 7000 to guard the camp near Grandreng and Erquelinne. General Latour, with the right of the allied army, was forthwith directed to make an attack on the French investing force on the 3rd, from the side of Forchies and Montaine l'Evêque. Werneck was to attack the republican troops near Gosselies, and Wartensleben at Ransant, with Quasdanowich

on the side of Fleurus. Vézu, with a single brigade, was at once overwhelmed by these two last divisions. Fromentin, at the same time, finding his left flank uncovered, and outflanked on the other side by Werneck, fell back in the greatest haste, and seeking the protection of the wood of Monceaux, was enabled to get across the Sambre at Landely. Mayer, to whom had been entrusted the siege of Charleroi, and who had taken post near Dampremy, was assailed by the columns in pursuit of Fromentin and by a sally from the garrison, which obliged him to raise the siege and get away as fast as he could across the river. Marceau, on the advance of Latour, found himself obliged to march, without loss of time, to Marchienne, where he, fortunately, still preserved the bridge, and (happily for the French, who were altogether in evil case, and had lost at least 2000 men in the attack) General Jourdain arrived the next morning at Chatellet, with the army of the Moselle, consisting of 40,000 men, and took the command of the entire force, now called the army of the Sambre and Meuse.

## 12. YPRES BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

To return for a moment to North Flanders; Pichegru, after the battle of Pont-à-Chin, seeing the bold front that the allies had shown there, turned himself from the British and advanced towards the Austrian army of Clairfait, who had isolated himself in his camp at Thielt, and appeared to the republican General an easier enterprise for his forces. The attention of the Austrians was, however, so fixed upon their successes on the Sambre, that Clairfait showed no disposition to retire from his camp, and accordingly, on the 4th of June, the investment of Ypres was without any interruption completed under Moreau, by the arrival of the brigades of Vandamme and Michaud, and the engineer Dejean was at once commanded to begin the siege. Pichegru placed his army of observation, under Souham, at Passchendaele and Langhemarcq to watch Clairfait's movements, and General Bonneau remained at Moescroen to have an eye upon the Duke of York. The Prince of Coburg unadvisedly selected this moment to withdraw some Austrian troops from Clairfait, in order to strengthen the army of the Prince of Orange, and moving some Hanoverian battalions from Tournay to replace them, he made, on the 9th, a strong reconnaissance towards Courtray, intending, on the 10th, to make a forward movement for the relief of Ypres, the siege of which place continued.

On the 5th the besieged made a vigorous sortie, but although it had some partial success, it could not break the investment. On the 7th an attack was made by an Austrian division against General Michaud, accompanied by a sortie from the place, but it was not successful, and on the 10th the first parallel was completed and garrisoned with ten batteries; but the siege was not pushed with the vigour requisite, for want of siege material, which, however, began at this time to arrive from Lille. The intention of the Prince of Coburg to make some endeavours to save the place transpired, and became known to the French generals, who, accordingly, at

ranged that a sortie should be made from Lille across the Marque near Cysoing and towards Orchies, in order to induce the allied troops, which were to have combined an attack with Clairfait's corps, to hesitate. This was Pichegru's scheme; and he now advanced with his corps of observation to Dadizele, to attack Clairfait, who had, in pursuance of the plans of the Generalissimo, advanced to Hooghlede. On Pichegru's advance the Austrian immediately withdrew back again into his camp at Thielt. General Salis, the Governor of Ypres, was now again summoned, and the second parallel commenced against the place in the night of the 11th-12th of June. The *vis inertiae* of the Austrians was at length roused, and on the 13th, at seven in the morning, Pichegru was surprised by a general attack on his position; his right at Rousselaer was so vehemently engaged, that the brigades of Malbrancq and Salm were driven back, and the whole force of the Austrian attack fell upon Macdonald at Hooghlede. This General made such excellent arrangements for the defence of his position, that all the attempts of the Austrians in six hours could not break his infantry, and this gave time for General Winter to come up with his brigade, who, rallying the fugitives who had been driven out of Rousselaer, regained that place, and the Austrians were forced to retire again into their camp at Thielt, with the loss of 900 men killed and wounded. All the while that Ypres was thus in jeopardy, and that Clairfait was called on, for the fifth time, to meet French isolated attacks, the Archduke Charles, with an army of 30,000 men, remained inactive on the south of Tournay, and an army of 8000 British recently arrived from England, under Lord Moira, were waiting orders at Ostend. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that, four days after this, on the 17th of June, the place should have been forced to surrender with a garrison of 6000 men. Nevertheless, on the 18th, just a day too late, the Prince of Coburg moved up with twenty-two battalions and forty-six squadrons to reinforce Clairfait; but on his march, at Coeghem, he learned the surrender of Ypres, and at the same time that Jourdain had again crossed the Sambre. Pichegru, as soon as he had placed Ypres in a state of defence, advanced against Clairfait, who retired from Thielt on Deynse, where Souham came up with him, took from him ten guns and 300 prisoners, and drove him to take refuge in Ghent.

### 13. THE AUSTRIANS ARE AGAIN SUCCESSFUL ON THE SAMBRE.

General Jourdain had no sooner got his two armies in hand, than he resolved to cross the Sambre, which had so often foiled his predecessors in command, and he took his measures so well, that he carried his army effectually across the river on the 12th, and again invested Charleroi. His plan was arranged to cover the siege, with his left resting on the rivulet Pieton at Trazegnies, his centre at Gosselies, and his right on some thick woods near Lambusart, abutting on the Sambre. General Hatry was placed in charge of the besieging forces on both sides of that river, and opened parallels against the place on the night of the 14th-15th of June. The force of the contending armies was very disproportionate. The

Prince of Orange, with the divisions of Beaulieu, Werneck, Latour, Quasdanowich, and Wartensleben, counted 85,000 men; Jourdain, with the divisions of Moreau, Mayer, Lefebvre, Championnet, Marlot, Hatry, Kleber, Montaigu, and Muller, with Dubois's cavalry, counted nearly 90,000. The Prince of Orange nevertheless resolved to make the attack, in five columns, on the morning of the 16th, in the midst of a thick fog, at the very moment when Jourdain was actually considering the propriety of making the attack himself, and had commenced to put his troops in motion, but a violent cannonade along his outposts awoke him to the necessity of his own defence.

The left column of the Austrian attack had advanced before the time, and, under the command of Prince Reus, fell upon Marceau, possessed itself of Velaine in front of Lambusart, forcing his adversary to cross the river at Pont-la-Loup, which enabled the Prince to move forward this column to the grand chaussée towards Charleroi. At the same time General Werneck, with the second column, carried Fleurus, and Latour, with the third, had possessed himself of Hepignies, in which he secured himself. The two columns of the centre, under Beaulieu and Alvinzi, marched concentrically by Mellet and Frasne, met on the chaussée to Gosselies, and were on the point of making themselves masters of Pont-à-Migneloup, when Jourdain came up with the reserve of cavalry, and lanced General Dubois against the advancing column, who charged with such effect that he checked it, and took 600 men and seven guns. This enabled the division of Championnet and the brigade of Marlot to resume their post; but these soon found themselves compromised, by the arrival of Prince Reus in their rear, at the mill near Jumet, and they retired in great disorder upon Marchienne. Wartensleben had been directed against the French left at Trazegnies, from whence he dislodged the brigade of Fuzier, but found himself stopped by the dispositions of Kleber, who brought forward the division of Duhesme, with the brigade of Bernadotte, who retook the village by the bayonet, and threatened both wings of the advance so seriously with his cavalry, that the Austrians would have been here driven back, but for the successes which had attended their left attack. Beaulieu and Alvinzi, as soon as they found themselves free from their opposing forces, turned to their left, and just as the fog cleared fell upon Lefebvre, who, surprised and alarmed, fled across the river at Chatellet. Jourdain, seeing the state of things, ordered a general retreat, and that Kleber should cover it.

The raising of the siege of Charleroi was the immediate consequence of this battle, and Beaulieu, Alvinzi, and Latour gained great credit for their distinguished conduct. The loss of the allies was placed at 2200, and that of the French at 4000 men.

#### 14. CHARLEROI BESIEGED AND TAKEN—BATTLE OF FLEURUS.

The Prince of Coburg, who does not appear to have had any very decided plan of operations, under the influence of this success, and in the teeth of the disproportionate numbers of the Prince of Orange, now again sent off reinforcements to the assistance of Clairfaut, not

withstanding that Ypres was already taken; but when, on the 18th of June, he saw the French army move for the fifth time across the Sambre, and sit down for the third time before Charleroi, the allied Generalissimo thought he had marched and countermarched his army sufficiently, and therefore he determined to call in both Clairfait and the Archduke Charles to the Sambre, and to entrust the defence of Flanders wholly to the Duke of York. Accordingly, on the 20th, the Prince brought out all the Austrian troops he could collect together, for the defence of Charleroi, and on the 22nd his Highness himself joined the left wing of his army at Nivelles, and took the command from the Prince of Orange. It is unaccountable why the commanding General had been so long absent from his post, for the enemy were again occupied by the siege of Charleroi, which was already sorely pressed, under the vigorous proceedings of the French engineer, Colonel Marescot, who had opened a new trench on the side of Montigny. On the 21st Kleber had encountered the Austrians at Herlaymont, and had some successes against them, in which they had lost some guns to the cavalry of General Dubois. The Prince of Coburg could not, of course, know what was occurring in the French camp, or he might have acted with greater boldness. There the commissary St. Just, a coarse, violent man, was putting every thing into jeopardy. He had even ordered Jourdain to detach 30,000 men to Pichegru's army, which the General-in-Chief, however, had the courage to refuse; and he took on himself to order a captain of artillery to be shot in the trenches, for some negligence in the construction of a battery, and would have carried the same measures of punishment against General Hatry, who commanded the siege, and Colonel Marescot, the engineer, but for the same firmness in General Jourdain. These things had done no good to the discipline of the French army. The siege, nevertheless, was pushed forward with surprising energy, and on the 25th the fire of the place had been completely overcome. The Governor was again summoned and refused; but as the besiegers were preparing for an assault, he sent a flag of truce to negotiate with the republican General, bearing a letter with the terms he desired. St. Just happened to be at the outpost when the flag arrived, and tearing up the letter without opening it, he replied with arrogance, "Ce n'est pas un chiffon du papier, c'est la place que je demande." On the reply of the General the Governor capitulated with the honours of war, but scarcely had the Brussels gate been given up to the besiegers, when the sound of artillery apprised the wretched garrison that the great army was, at length, advancing to its succour.

The Austrian advance was, as usual, just too late. If the Prince of Coburg had attacked immediately he had collected his forces, or if he had had that intelligence with the garrison of Charleroi which it might be supposed was not impossible after it had been already twice relieved, he might have fought the battle which he now sought with some prospects of advantage. The attacking army, now that it was all united, is believed to have counted 110,000 men, or, at all events, Jourdain supposed it greatly superior to his own, and accordingly judged it



prudent to receive the battle on the ground he already occupied for the siege; nevertheless, a circular position extending ten leagues, though fit for covering a siege, was not the best that might be adopted for a battle, and especially with a considerable river behind him; however, he prepared for the attack with all the courage and ability of his character, and established General Hatry's siege division in reserve, which, now that the place was taken, had become disposable; and General Kleber's force was placed in a second line at Jumet, so as to give support to whichever extremity might be assaulted. The Prince of Coburg had selected his plan of attack at his leisure, but the military theory of the day, falsely called that of Frederick, was to subdivide the attack into many parts, with the object of keeping the whole line of the enemy occupied, instead of choosing what might be deemed the weak point of the enemy's position, and falling with all your might upon it; however, the Austrian attack was now made by nine columns impinging on so many points of Jourdain's circular position. The Prince of Orange commanded in person the three right columns, consisting of twenty-four battalions and twenty-three squadrons, and advanced from Fontaine l'Evêque, sending General Latour forward by way of Trazegnies and Mont-à-Gouy, while he himself advanced through the wood of Monceaux. Quasdanowich, with fourteen battalions and sixteen squadrons, moved along the great chaussée by Pont-à-Migneloup upon Gosselies. Prince Kaunitz, supported by the Archduke Charles, was to possess himself of Fleurus; and Beaulieu, with 16,000 or 18,000 men subdivided into three columns, was to attack the right of the French position, near Lambusart. The action began at break of day on the 26th of June, each attack commencing nearly at the same moment. The Prince of Orange drove General Daurier's brigade before him through Fontaine l'Evêque and Rus; Daurier defended himself inch by inch, until about ten o'clock a portion of Montaigu's division came up to his aid, and the Prince, having in vain employed the aid of his cavalry, was obliged to fall back, crushed with the grape of the enemy's batteries. Latour having possessed himself of Trazegnies and Mont-à-Gouy, bore to his right on Forchies, and thence upon the Bois de Monceaux, and passing through this he even cannonaded the town and bridge of Marchienne, into which he drove Montaigu and Poncet before him. Jourdain, observing Latour's success, ordered Kleber from Jumet to send troops across the Pieton, in his rear, and Bernadotte with his brigade reached Baymont about two o'clock, and thence penetrated the Bois de Monceaux, while Kleber threatened Latour's flank. This brought back the Austrian General, who had in the mean time discovered by a reconnaissance on Charleroi that his troops had been fired upon, and that therefore that place was in the hands of the enemy, an important discovery to report to the Generalissimo. At the same time he also learned the retreat of the Prince of Orange, and accordingly proceeded to join him at Forchies.

Quasdanowich advancing on the grand chaussée, found himself opposed to the French General Marlot, who sent troops right and left to threaten the flanks of the Austrian column; but these were

successively driven back from Mellet and Brunehaud and through Thumér and Pont-à-Migneloup, from whence a heavy cannonade was opened upon the republican line from the hills in front of Gosselies, which Quasdanowich was preparing to attack, when he received orders from the Prince of Coburg to withdraw upon Frasne, for his Highness had now heard from Latour of the surrender of Charleroi.

Beaulieu with the extreme left drove back Marceau through the wood of Copiaux, and outflanking him by way of the Maison Rouge, forced the republicans to retire and even to cross the Sambre at the Pont-la-Loup. Beaulieu having gained this success, bore to his right on the French General Lefebvre, who was attacked at the same time in front by Prince Kaunitz. This Prince had on his hands the most serious of all the attacks, on the right of the town of Fleurus : he was opposed by Championnet, who occupied an excellent position, resting his left on a strong redoubt between Heppignies and Wagné, armed with eighteen heavy guns. Successfully resisting an attack from the cavalry, the Imperialist General brought forward his artillery so judiciously that he got possession of the redoubt, which he was disarming, when the French General-in-Chief restored the fortunes of the day. Lefebvre had been driven out of Fleurus by the Archduke Charles, and had detached three battalions to the assistance of Marceau, whose retreat had so compromised his right that he had been obliged to throw back this flank *en potence*, to defend which he had established a battery of twelve guns ; this now successfully checked the Imperial cavalry, and Marceau so effectually garnished the hedges and gardens about Lambusart, that Beaulieu could make no further advance, although he also had pushed a reconnaissance to Charleroi, which being fired upon advertised him likewise of the surrender of the place.

But it was Jourdain to whom must be attributed the success of the day. He ordered Hatry's division to the assistance of Lefebvre and Marceau, and finding six battalions and six squadrons of Kleber's division still at Jumet, he brought them all up with him to Heppignies, and ordered Championnet forward instantly to the charge. The great redoubt was recovered, and being quickly occupied, played upon Kaunitz in his retreat, while Dubois went forward with his cavalry upon the retiring Austrians, and captured fifty guns ; but the Prince of Lambesc opportunely came up with the Imperial carbiniers and cuirassiers, retook the guns and re-established the order of the retreat, which the Prince of Coburg had already commanded throughout the whole of his army. It only remains to be stated, that the Archduke Charles, who had belonged to Prince Kaunitz's column, advanced on Fleurus ; and after a long and murderous contest, forced the light troops of Lefebvre's division out of the town, and back to the intrenched hills behind it. Three times he essayed to storm that position, but was every time driven back by the grape and musketry of the defenders, and having failed in this, received the order to retire, and joined Prince Kaunitz in his retreat. Had the Prince of Orange been as successful as Latour, Kaunitz, and

Beaulieu, the battle would have been won; and at one moment, it is said, a retreat was spoken of to Jourdain—"Non, non," said the General-in-Chief, loudly, "point de retraite aujourd'hui: nous retirer quand nous pouvons combattre: non, non, point de retraite;" and these words ran through the French lines, "Point de retraite aujourd'hui!"

The French army retained their positions after the battle, yet it must be allowed that it should not have given them any greater advantage; however, in all its consequences it became a great victory to them. The loss is said to have been nearly equal, being between 4000 and 5000 on both sides. The Prince of Coburg ordered a retreat only because his object was already frustrated, since Charleroi was in the hands of the enemy; but a more energetic chief, or one less hampered by secret instructions than the Austrian Commander is said to have been, could have followed up the battle—again and again attacked, until he had driven the French across the Sambre. As it was, he retired upon Nivelles, and took up the very position at Mont St. Jean, in front of the fort of Soignies, where the battle of Waterloo was afterwards fought. Mons was given up to the enemy without a shot.

#### 15. THE ALLIED ARMIES RETIRE BEHIND THE DYLE.

The Duke of York was on no bed of roses at Tournay. While the siege of Ypres was in progress he was expecting something to be done for its relief by Clairfait, and was prepared himself to have supported any movement having that object by an advance upon the enemy about Courtray. At the same time the garrison of Lille was continually making demonstrations against his camp, to keep him from any such movement. Nevertheless, on the 18th of June, his Royal Highness, with the Archduke Charles, hearing of the successes of the Austrians on the Sambre, left four battalions in Tournay, and marched with all his army across the Scheldt to Pottes. Here, however, he heard that the French had again crossed the Sambre, and invested Charleroi, and that Clairfait had again fallen back on Thielt, after a smart conflict with Pichegru. He, therefore, brought back his army again, and on the 21st it was announced to his Royal Highness from the Generalissimo that the whole of the Imperial troops were to be withdrawn from the Scheldt to the Sambre. On the 24th the Duke of York received through Colonel Craigs, who had left the army on his way to England, the news of the surrender of Ypres and of the defeat of Clairfait, near Ghent; and feeling now that the Austrians had on all sides left him, and that he had become isolated at Tournay from any portion of the allied army, his Royal Highness left as much force as he could spare in pos-

<sup>2</sup> All the accounts of this battle mention an endeavour made in the course of it by the French, to avail themselves of balloons for the purpose of intelligence, and one was seen above Gosselies and Charleroi the same part of the day; but it was found to be of no advantage, and the experiment has never (that I am aware of) been repeated.

session of that fortified camp, marched away his army, and established his head-quarters at Renaix. Pichegru sent a division after Clairfait to Ghent, which was repulsed, and he himself advanced on the 24th to bombard Oudenarde, with a view of placing himself between the armies of the Austrian corps and the Duke of York. At the moment of executing this manœuvre (which if combined with Jourdain's movements against the Prince of Coburg might have had most decisive results), and in the very act of getting possession of Oudenarde, he received an imperative order from Paris to fall upon Nieuport and Ostend, where a reinforcement of 8000 British troops, under Lord Moira, had recently landed; and it was supposed that the occupation of this port would prevent the Duke of York with the whole English army from getting away. It was probably the same motive which induced him at this time to send 16,000 men to co-operate with Admiral Vanstabel to secure the isle of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt.

The allied commanders had a conference at the head-quarters of the Prince of Coburg, on the 1st of July, and the determination arrived at was, that the whole line of the Scheldt was to be relinquished, and that the allied armies should retire behind the Dyle. The Duke of York accordingly quitted Renaix on the 3rd, and established his head-quarters on the 9th at the Chateau de Contich, near Malines, where he was joined by Moira. The expedition of Lord Moira had had some singular casualties. It was originally directed to the coast of Normandy, to assist the insurgents in La Vendée; arriving too late to be of any assistance on the coasts of France, they proceeded to Ostend, where they arrived and disembarked on the 26th of June. His Lordship there found General Stewart on the point of removing from the port, and doubted for a moment whether he had not better countermand these proceedings and himself garrison and defend it; however, desirous to join the Duke of York, he resolved to march away to Bruges; there he received a letter from his Royal Highness, directing him to join him on the Scheldt. Lord Moira, however, put himself into immediate communication with Generals Clairfait and Walmoden, and proceeded to Alost. Here he was attacked by the French, and after a severe contest retreated to Malines, and so fell back behind the Neethe, and joined the British army. The French reached Ostend on the 13th of July without resistance, Colonel Vyse having in the mean time embarked the detachment left for its defence and as much of the "matériel de guerre et de bouche" as the time allowed him. All the guns in the place were rendered useless, but great magazines fell into the hands of the enemy, and in getting out of harbour, the "Gatton," Indiaman, charged to the full, grounded, and had to be set on fire and burned. Clairfait relinquished Ghent on the 3rd, first retiring on Alost, and afterwards behind the Dyle. The Austrian garrison of Tournay evacuated that town, and the whole of the right of the Imperial forces again retired, calling in Bray's division, which had been left in observation near Orchies. Jourdain knowing nothing of the orders given to Pichegru,

advanced towards the left with the view of uniting the armies. As soon, however, as he learnt the direction given to Pichegru's advance, he ordered forward Kleber and Lefebvre's divisions with Dubois's cavalry, to force back the whole allied line, which on the 6th withdrew before him, covering Brussels. The Prince of Orange could not maintain his ground against the divisions of Marlot and Lefebvre, and the Dutch cavalry had an affair on that day between Mont St. Jean and Waterloo, in which the Prince of Hesse-Philippstadt lost his life. On the 7th Beaulieu was attacked at Sombref by the republicans under Mayer and Hatry, but by dint of his superiority in artillery and cavalry he was enabled to maintain his ground until outflanked on his left and cut off from Namur, when he fell back on Gembloux, and the whole army on the 9th took up a position behind the Dyle, between Louvain and Juchoigne, with the Prince of Coburg's head-quarters at Tirlemont. General Kray coming up from St. Amand camped at Enghien on the 3rd, and joined the grand army the following day.

On the 10th two divisions of the army of the Sambre and Meuse took possession of the capital of Belgium; and Pichegru with the army of the North arrived the same day, and the republican armies effected their junction; and now the whole of West Flanders, with the exception of the town of Nieuport, garrisoned by Hanoverians, came into the possession of the French. Pichegru established his head-quarters at Brussels, and Jourdain at Nivelles, and the united French army on the 11th rested its left on Vilvorden, and its right opposite Namur, in which was an Austrian garrison.

#### 16. THE BRITISH AND AUSTRIAN ARMIES SEPARATE.

The allied army had its right on Antwerp, occupying the line of the Dyle to Malines and Louvain, and thence to Namur. The Duke of York's army consisted of the two brigades of Daring and Linsingen, under Hammerstein; of the three brigades of Boietard, Dalwig, and Debush, with Harcourt's British cavalry, under Walmoden; of Balfour, Graham, and Fox's brigades of infantry and thirty-four squadrons of cavalry, under Erskine; and of the reserve under Abercrombie, consisting of Hull's brigade of guards, Wurmb's brigade of Hessians, and thirteen squadrons of British and Hessian dragoons: the whole comprising about 85,000 men, independent of Lord Moira's division. The Dutch army, about 15,000 strong, at Rymenam, united the Duke of York's army with that of the Prince of Coburg. On the 13th the Prince of Coburg desired to have a conference with the Duke of York, but his Royal Highness having been taken ill on the road, the meeting did not take place. On the same day, however, a complete separation was agreed upon between the two armies, and the Austrian troops were withdrawn from Malines, which was occupied by Hessians. The Netherlands being now in the hands of the French, the policy of the British and Dutch was to cover Holland; but the Imperialists had their eyes on their communications with Germany by Cologne and Coblenz. It indeed appeared strange that Austria after so many sacrifices should resign

possession of the Netherlands, but it now appears, that as far back as the 24th of May, the ministers of the Emperor had already decided upon its abandonment, on the ground that the real interests of Austria lay nearer home, on the frontiers of Italy and Poland; and that as Flanders was of consequence to the cause of European independence, it was the duty of England, Holland, and Prussia, (in the centre of whose dominions it lay,) to save those fertile provinces from France.

The French armies also immediately separated: it seems to have been at first determined that Pichegru should command in chief, but at length the commissaries, urged as it was said by General Regnier, agreed that Pichegru should occupy himself with the army of the Duke of York, and prevent him from making a junction with the Prince of Coburg; and that Jourdain should follow up the Austrians and drive them back behind the Meuse: but at the same time the orders from Paris were positive, that no distant operations should be undertaken as long as the four French fortresses conquered by the allies remained in the enemy's possession. Pichegru had with him the divisions of Souham, Moreau, Thierry, Despeaux, Bonneau, and Osten, comprising 84,278 men. Jourdain had the divisions of Marceau, Mayer, Lefebvre, Championnet, Marlot, Hatry, Dubois, Kleber, Montaigu, and Muller, numbering about as many men. The Prince of Coburg had under him the divisions of Prince Kaunitz, Clairfait, Beaulieu, Werneck, Latour, Quasdanowich, and Wartensleben, which may have amounted to about 80,000; and the Duke of York with the Prince of Orange numbered about 50,000: so that about 300,000 men were, on the 12th of July this year, assembled on both banks of the Dyle.

But this lasted but for that single day. On the 15th Souham attacked the Hessians in Malines: General Dalwig, who commanded, made a brave resistance, but was constrained by numbers to give way, and fell back on Waelhem, where he burned the bridge before Lord Moira could arrive to his support; and the Prince of Orange finding his flank uncovered by the advance to Waelhem, retired behind the Neethe at Dylen. The same day Jourdain advanced against the Austrians, who occupied the position of the Montagne de Fer in front, near Louvain; Kleber attacked it and drove them back on Tirlemont. The Prince of Coburg now finding the road open to the enemy all the way to Liege, ordered his army to cross the Meuse there, and at Maestricht; Latour, with the rearguard of the Imperial army, contesting the advance of the enemy, and stubbornly defending the passage of the bridge at Liege, to command which they had established a fortified camp on the height of La Chartreuse immediately above it.

On the 16th the French advanced guard attempted the passage of Waelhem, where General Stewart effectually opposed it, and Lord Moira, having been ordered to pass the Neethe at Duffel, came upon the French rear near Rosendaal. The Earl sent forward a brigade of cavalry consisting of the 8th, 15th, and 16th light dragoons to the bridge of Steffensworth, where they encountered the

French cavalry, and were engaged in a conflict, sword arm to sword arm, in which Colonel Churchill slew the Colonel of the 8th French dragoons with his own hand. After this, the advance posts of the British and French remained for eight days merely separated by small streams, across which, notwithstanding the bloody decree of the Convention, the vedettes communicated in friendly intercourse. In this interval the Dutch army unexpectedly marched across the rear of the British army on the 17th, to Osterwick, by which the left of the Duke's left flank at Lier became unavoidably exposed to any attempt of the enemy. The Dutch had taken the precaution to assemble six ships of the line, under Admiral Kingsbergen, in the road of Flushing, where he was joined by the British Admiral Herring with a squadron of four 44-gun frigates and some gunboats. A corps of British troops under Lord Mulgrave, consisting of nearly 5000 men, who had been destined to the defence of the island of Cadzand, now occupied the island of Walcheren, and accordingly the Duke of York's army was effectually protected on its right flank; but his Royal Highness felt that now that the Austrians had crossed the Meuse, his position, so far in advance, was untenable, and on the 22nd he marched away his army to a position at Rosendaal, between Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom.

#### 17. CAPITULATION OF THE FOUR FORTRESSES—DEATH OF ROBESPIERRE.

The armies kept the position to which we have conducted them for a considerable time, for it was the will of the French government that the soil of France should be cleared of any hostile possession before the armies advanced further. General Scherer was accordingly directed by the Convention to obtain possession of the fortresses occupied by the allied troops. Quesnoy capitulated to him on the 15th; Landrecy on the 17th; Valenciennes and Condé held out till the 27th and 30th of August; but in the mean while an important revolution had taken place at Paris. On the 9th—10th of Thermidor (answering to the 27th of July) the reign of terror was stopped, and a period put to the life of Robespierre, and the power of his party.

#### 18. NIEUPOORT CAPITULATES, AND THE "LOYAL EMIGRANTS" ARE MASSACRED.

General Moreau had been placed in command of the 15,000 men on the left of the army of the North, who were ordered to advance and take possession of the mouths of the Scheldt. In their advance they possessed themselves of Nieuport: this town was unfortunately garrisoned in part by 500 emigrants of the corps of Chartres. The French General would have spared their lives, but the ruthless commissary of the Convention insisted on a rigid execution of its decree. The Hanoverian garrison were admitted to a capitulation; but few, if any, of the emigrants escaped. To the number of 500 they were drawn up in the dry ditch, and artillery opened upon them, loaded with grapeshot.

## 19. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER.

Prussia had for some period shown an indisposition to enter with any sincerity into the views of the coalition against the French Republic. Selfishly inclined as every member of the confederation had proved itself at this period, this power was of all the least intent on the continuance of the struggle with France, for she was seeking territorial acquisitions on her own account by the shores of the Vistula, and desired to secure Dantzic, of which she had already obtained possession. Marshal Moellendorf succeeded to the command of her Rhenish army on the retirement of the Duke of Brunswick, and had cantoned it between Mayence and Oppenheim, when he received a letter from the Prince of Coburg, requesting his co-operation in the plan of campaign that had been drawn up by General Mack, for the military operations of the allies for the year 1794. Moellendorf replied in cold and ambiguous terms, "That he was not acquainted with the part which his government had taken in the formation of the proposed plan of operations: that the views on which it was founded appeared unexceptionable; but that in the existing state of affairs it was attended with obvious inconveniences, and that he could not consent to the proposed march to Treves, lest he should expose Mayence." Orders were, as is now known, actually given to Moellendorf at this time to withdraw the Prussian army by divisions from the Rhine towards the Elbe; but English subsidies had the effect of momentarily suspending this resolution, and Moellendorf did not carry into effect this projected retreat.

The Austrian army, which had been under the command of Wurmsers, had now passed under that of Field-Marshal the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, and occupied with 35,000 men all the country about Heidelberg, on the right of the Rhine. General Mishaud had succeeded Pichegru in the command of the French army of the Rhine, which had its winter-quarters between Kaiserlautern and Frankenthal, on the Rhine, where Desaix commanded the advanced guard. The army of the Moselle occupied the left of the Vosges from Kaiserlautern to Sarre-Louis and Thionville. It has been already shown that the greater part of this army with its General-in-Chief had been moved away to its left, to join that of the Ardennes, and accordingly a mere corps of observation, consisting of two divisions, now remained in these last-mentioned quarters. The Saxo-Prussian army, 60,000 or 65,000 men, was camped about Mayence, which they occupied as headquarters, and which was the key of their position. The French had made some offensive movements on the 5th and 6th of May, and had occupied themselves through the winter in making Kaiserlautern, by means of new works of defence, more formidable than it already was by nature. The Prussian Field-Marshal determined to take advantage of the departure of Jourdain to make a forward movement; to this end he drew up instructions of ten pages each, to regulate the march of the eight or ten detachments who were to dislodge the enemy from Morlautern. This is a pregnant example of the manner of making war by



the schools: Frederick himself would have blushed at such degeneracy, and would have gone forward to the attack with all that morning freshness and vigour which was now quite passing away from the Prussian armies. The Marshal called across the Rhine 18,000 Saxons under the Duke Albert, and on the 30rd of May sent forward his army under Prince Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, who, bravely crossing the inundations of the Rehutte, fell upon Desaix at Schifferstadt with great spirit, but the French rallied after the first attack; and General Delmas with two regiments of cavalry having repulsed the regiment of Ferdinand, the French retook their position at Kohlböf. In this encounter General Mazaros was seriously wounded. In the mean while Moellendorf advanced by Winweiler directly upon Kaiserslautern, while Kalkreuth marched to his right on Landstuhll, and Schmettau, on the same flank, towards Saarbrück and Saar-Louis. Kleist and Ruchel moved on the left hand from Gölheim on Hochspeigen, and Blücher with his light troops was to possess the defile of Frankenstein in order to cut off all communications from the troops of Desaix at Neustadt. General Anbert, who commanded at Kaiserslautern, found himself attacked by four columns at once, and escaped by a miracle. He resisted all attacks for three or four hours, and then made his retreat in good order to Trippstadt and Pirmasens; but the brigade of Sisacé would have been compromised by his retreat, but that he cut his way through Blücher, whose detachment was too weak to stop him.

General Michaud finding he had lost 1500 men, and not equal to the emergency of the command which had fallen on him by the departure of Jourdain, immediately ordered the whole French army to retire behind the Queich between Landau and Gummerstein, while the army of the Moselle withdrew at the same time to Bliesscastel. General Schaal with one division occupied the passes of the mountains between the two armies. Marshal Moellendorf resting quite satisfied with this result of his ten pages of instructions, restored the sword to its scabbard, and placed his troops opposite the enemy from Ottweiler on the French frontier and on the other side of the Vosges to Schweigenheim upon the Rhine, and returned to his head-quarters at Mayence.

He found at his head-quarters two British ministers, Lords Malmesbury and Cornwallis, who had come to him by the request of Haugwitz, the Prussian minister at Maestricht, with the object of inducing the Prussian forces to leave the banks of the Rhine, and hasten to the scene of decisive operations in Flanders; but Moellendorf, acting as it was supposed in obedience to secret orders, declined to obey the requisition of the plenipotentiaries. The British ministers on this broke out into bitter complaints at the breach of faith on the part of Prussia in not having fulfilled the conditions of the treaty of the 19th of April, which had stipulated that 62,000 men should be furnished in return for the enormous subsidy of two millions granted to Prussia, while 32,000 only received daily rations at the army. The parties separated, mutually exasperated, and Lord Cornwallis declared he would suspend all further payment of the subsidy.

Nor were the Austrian cabinet quite to be trusted in the desire for any longer continuing the war; the Imperial government was really desirous of an accommodation in order to concentrate their attention upon Poland. A secret understanding in consequence took place between the Prince of Coburg and the French generals, the conditions of which were that the Austrians should not be disquieted in their retreat to the Rhine, and that the republicans should be permitted without molestation to reduce the four great fortresses which had been wrested from France in the preceding year. Accordingly, in mid-campaign, in opposition to what might have been expected, all parties rested on their arms; the Austrians and Prussians doing little or nothing to prepare for the inevitable result, that they must repossess the Rhine.

## 20. BRITISH NAVAL WAR—CAPTURE OF CORSICA.

The proceedings of the British Mediterranean fleet may in this pause demand our attention. The escape of the British frigate "Juno," 32, Captain Samuel Hood, is the first event that requires notice. On the 11th of January she was running into Toulon, ignorant of its having been evacuated by the British, when she was hailed by a brig that lay off Pointe Grande Tour, and ordered to luff. Soon after, and while steps were taking to anchor, a boat came alongside. To the question where Lord Hood's ship lay, an unsatisfactory answer was given, and it was perceived that the boat's crew bore national cockades. The cable was immediately cut and sails set, but instantly all the forts opened upon the "Juno;" she got clear off, however, without the loss of a man; and, on the 18th, she joined Lord Hood in the Bay of Hieres. The Admiral, after the evacuation of Toulon, still remained with his fleet in this bay, to be in the vicinity of that great French scaport. There happened to be 4000 or 5000 soldiers on board some of the ships, under General Dundas, so that on receiving intelligence that the republican forces at the island of Corsica were not only much straitened for provisions, but that the spirit of the people had become very impatient of French government, it was deemed expedient by the Admiral and General to take the fleet into the harbour of San Fiorenzo, in order to assist the loyal portion of the inhabitants in expelling the French troops from the island. Accordingly, on the 24th of January, after communicating with General Paoli, the British fleet, consisting of sixty sail, proceeded to that destination. On the 7th of February they arrived at a bay lying to the westward of Cape Mortella: 1400 troops were immediately disembarked and took possession of a height which overlooked the tower of Mortella, which required to be reduced before the anchorage in the gulf of San Fiorenzo could be deemed secure. An attack against the tower by sea and land was accordingly decided on; and, on the 8th, two frigates anchored in the best manner for battering the tower; but although the two ships kept up an unremitting fire for two hours and a half, no material impression was made on the walls. The battering from the height on shore was equally unsuc-

cessful, until they began to employ hot shot, when one falling among, and setting fire to, some bass-junk, with which an immensely thick parapet was lined to the depth of five feet, the little garrison, thirty-three in number, commanded by Ensign Thomas le Tellier, capitulated. The tower only mounted one 6-pounder and two 18-pounders. The gallant defence made by this little garrisoned tower was so much thought of by the British military authorities, that an immense expense was afterwards incurred in garnishing the English coast that fronted the French shores with these Mortella towers.

The next post to be attacked was Convention redoubt, mounted with twenty-one pieces of heavy ordnance, and considered as the key to the bay. The manner in which this redoubt was invested and besieged is so characteristic of the gallant sea-service, that it must be described in the words of its able historian. "By the most surprising exertions of science and labour on the part of the officers and men of the navy, several 18-pounders and other pieces were placed on an eminence of very difficult ascent, 700 feet above the level of the sea. The seamen, by means of blocks and ropes, contrived to haul up their guns, each of which weighed about twenty-four cwt. The path along which these dauntless fellows crept would, in most places, admit but one person at a time. On the right was a descent of many hundred feet; and one false step would have led to eternity: on the left were stupendous overhanging rocks, which were made useful for fastening the tackle for raising the guns. From these 18-pounders, so admirably posted, a cannonade was unremittingly kept up during the whole of the 16th and 17th, and it was concluded that the enemy would be much shaken by its vigour; therefore, on the latter evening, it was determined to storm the works,—a service which was executed with vigour, and crowned with success. On the 19th the French having abandoned two frigates in the harbour, evacuated the town of San Fiorenzo, and retreated towards Bastia<sup>1</sup>."

The Admiral desired to follow up this success, by proceeding round the island to Bastia; but he could not convince the General of the practicability of reducing that place. Hood accordingly took on board such portion of land forces as had been ordered to serve aboard the fleet as marines, together with two officers and thirty artillerymen, and leaving the General at San Fiorenzo, arrived on the 4th of April at the anchorage before the capital. The same evening the troops, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Vilette, and a detachment of seamen, commanded by Captain Horatio Nelson, of the "Agamemnon," were, with the guns, mortars, and ordnance stores, disembarked. The total comprised 1248 officers and men, and the Corsicans, who united themselves with the force under General Paoli, were about the same in number. The garrison were said to be 3000 men, under Le Comte St. Michel, an old artillery officer, who was Governor. On the 11th, the batteries which had been erected on the surrounding heights being ready to open, Lord Hood sent in a written summons, which the Governor would not even read. The batteries accordingly opened forth-

<sup>1</sup> James.

with upon the works, and were promptly replied to. A frigate bomb, called "Proselyte," mounting 12-pounders, and commanded by Captain Serocold, was placed as a floating battery against the town; but the French succeeded in setting her on fire with red-hot shot, and she was consumed by the flames; but the crew were saved. At length, on the 19th, the French Governor proposed terms, and Lord Hood replied: "In consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give you terms." On the 21st the several parts were given up, and terms were granted highly honourable to the besieged.

The British loss was one lieutenant of the navy and thirteen killed, and three officers and about thirty of both services wounded. On the 19th the formal surrender of Corsica to the British crown was made to Sir Gilbert Elliott, his Majesty's viceroy, but Calvi remained still in the possession of a republican garrison. Captain Nelson was therefore immediately sent there, with the troops under the Hon. Lieut.-General Stuart, and after a siege of fifty-one days, General Casa Bianca surrendered the place on the 10th of August, upon terms highly flattering to the bravery of the garrison who had defended it. The loss of the besiegers was four officers and twenty-five men killed, and eight officers and about fifty men wounded. Amongst the latter was Captain Nelson, who lost his eye in consequence of a shot striking the battery near him and driving some splinters with considerable force into the pupil.

On the 17th of January, two privateers in the Indian Seas, called "Vengeur" and "Résolue," ran under Bencoolen, and attacked the "Pigot," East Indiaman, refitting there. They made the attack in succession, owing to the narrowness of the entrance to the bay; but after fighting in this manner for a couple of hours, she beat them both off.

On the 22nd of January a squadron, under the command of Commodore Mitchell, got sight of two strangers in the south-west, who proved to be these two privateers. They were chased by the "Britannia," Captain Cheap, and the "Nonsuch," Captain Canning, and in about three-quarters of an hour both struck their colours. But on the 9th of February following the "Pigot" was found in the same place by a French squadron of three frigates, "Prudente," "Cybèle," and "Duguay-Trouin," under Captain Rénaud, who had just escaped capture from Commodore Mitchell's squadron, and who now attacked and captured the "Pigot," and had the boldness to demand the surrender of Fort Marlborough, but the British commandant rejected the proposals, and M. Rénaud thought it more prudent to put to sea with his prize.

In the course of this year several French frigates, in squadrons of three or four, cruised about the British Channel, and were very annoying and destructive to commerce. To endeavour to put a check to this warfare, two or three frigate squadrons were ordered to sea. One of these was commanded by Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, and consisted of his own ship, the "Flora," 36, "Arathusa," 88, Captain Pellew, "Melampus," 36, Captain Wells, "Concorde," 36,

Captain Richard Strachan, and "Nympha," 36, Captain George Murray. On the 23rd of April they sighted off Guernsey, a French squadron, composed of "L'Engageante," 36, Commodore Desgareux, "La Pomone," 44, "Résolue," 36, with a 20-gun corvette, "Barbet." At 7.30 the action commenced, and at 9.30 the "Pomone" and "Barbet" hauled down their colours to the "Arethusa" and "Melampus." The "Engageante" was brought to action a little past noon, and after a gallant defence she struck to the "Concorde," who also tried to take the "Résolue," but she got away and escaped into Morlaix.

On the 5th of May the frigate "Orpheus," 32, Captain H. Newcome, "Centurion," 50, Captain Osborne, and "Resistance," 44, Captain E. Pakenham, cruising off the Isle of France, discovered the "Duguay-Trouin," 34, and "Vulcan" brig-corvette. The frigate, by superior sailing, got up first and into action, which terminated in little more than an hour in the capture of the Frenchman, which had been a British Indiaman the year previous. On the same day off the coast of Ireland, the "Swiftsure," 74, Captain C. Boyle, chased the "Atalante," 36, French frigate, commanded by Captain Linois, who bravely contended against the large odds of the contest, and proved that had he met an equal instead of a 74, he would not have struck, as he was now obliged to do to his assailant.

The French in Toulon having succeeded in equipping most of the ships which the British had left behind, seven sail of the line and four or five frigates put to sea on the 5th of June, under the command of M. Martin. Lord Hood, who then lay off Bastia, no sooner heard of this, than he pursued them with thirteen sail of the line and four frigates; but the French fleet pushed for their anchorage in Gourgeau Bay, and, thanks to the weather, escaped the pursuit.

## 21. NAVAL VICTORY OFF USHANT ON THE 1ST OF JUNE.

The British Channel fleet, though it had lain at anchor during the winter months, weighed, on the 2nd of May, with the East and West Indian and Newfoundland convoys, amounting to 148 sail. Arriving off the Lizard, the various merchant vessels, with their convoys, separated, and Lord Howe, with twenty-six sail of the line and seven frigates, proceeded towards the French coast. On the 16th the grand fleet of France, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, with fifteen or sixteen frigates, under the command of Rear-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, sailed out of Brest roads with a fair wind. It was the 28th, however, at nine in the morning, before Lord Howe came up with them, and in the course of that evening partial actions were engaged in with single ships on both sides. Rear-Admiral Pasley, the "Bellerophon," came up with the "Révolutionnaire," who, after some fighting, put before the wind, but was interrupted by the "Leviathan," Lord Hugh Seymour, who continued to engage her till the arrival of the "Audacious," Captain William Parker. The "Leviathan" then passed on to engage another ship, and the "Audacious" and the "Révolutionnaire" became closely engaged. The latter lost her mizen-mast, and had her fore and main-yards shot

away; and the men quartered forward declared that the French ship struck her colours, but she became no prize to the British, for such was the crippled state of the "Audacious," that it was some time before she was herself enabled to veer clear of the French line. Having now effected this, and night coming on, every effort was made to repair her damages in time to resume her station at daylight, and in this she succeeded; for on the 29th it was deemed prudent that the "Audacious" should proceed straight away into port, and contriving to elude all pursuers she did at length, on the 3rd, anchor safe in Plymouth Sound. The "Révolutionnaire" was also found in her crippled state by a consort, the "Audacieux," who towed her away in safety into Rochefort, and although these two vessels had both parted company, the fleets still continued respectively their course. At about midday on the 29th, Lord Howe made signal to the ships of his line to tack in succession, with a view of passing through the enemy's line, in order to get the weather-gage, but as the French bore away, the van of the English fleet passed astern of the line of the enemy. Accordingly, about two hours subsequent, Lord Howe, in the flag-ship "Queen Charlotte," resolved to set himself the example, and stretching boldly on, heedless of the fire opened upon him, the flag-ship arrived abreast of the opening between the sixth and seventh French ships from the rear, and pouring a broadside into the lee-beam of the "Eole," 74, she passed through the "Bellerophon" and "Leviathan," the Admiral's two seconds following their gallant chief. The "Tyrannicide" and "Indomptable" were left exposed and out off from the French line, but Admiral Villaret wore out of the line, and gallantly and judiciously led his fleet on the starboard tack, to the rescue of his two disabled ships, which Lord Howe was unable to obstruct. But even this did not bring on a general engagement, for the French Admiral, satisfied with having extricated his disabled ships, wore round, and standing away far on the larboard tack, rejoined his rear. The British fleet wore in the same direction, but kept the weather-gage, till about 5 P.M. the firing ceased for that day. At sunset the two fleets on the larboard tack, with the wind fresh at south-west, were about ten miles apart.

On the 30th and 31st both fleets were concealed from one another by a thick fog, excepting occasionally when it lifted a little, but Lord Howe saw that a battle was becoming inevitable, and accordingly, considering it preferable to make it a daylight contest, he at evening on the latter day hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, and ordered every ship to carry commanding sail all night, while he judiciously stationed the "Phaeton" and "Latona" frigates to leeward of his own fleet, for the purpose of watching the motions of that of the enemy. In the interval, Rear-Admiral Neilly, with the "Sanspareil," 80, bearing his flag, and four 74's, joined M. Villaret's fleet, making it now twenty-six sail of the line.

At daybreak on the 1st of June the French fleet was described about six miles off on the starboard or lee bow of the British fleet, steering in a line of battle on the larboard tack. At eight A.M.

Lord Howe having signalled his orders, the whole fleet filled and bore down upon the enemy. The French appeared to wait for the attack with great resolution, drawn up in a close head and stern line, bearing about east and west. About half-past nine the French van opened a distant fire upon the British van, and in a quarter of an hour after the fire became general and the flag-officers hoisted the signal for close action at their mast-heads. A heavy fire now commenced on every side. Lord Howe made straight for the French Admiral's flag flying on the "Montagne," 120, but was intercepted by the "Vengeur," 74, and "Achille," 74. Instead of stopping for such smaller fry, he gave them each a broadside, set top-gallant sails, and then passing close under the stern of the "Montagne" (so close as to brush the fly of the French ensign), the English Admiral poured into the French three-decker a tremendous broadside: he then saw the "Jacobin," 80, in the very position which he intended to occupy, and therefore directed his master to luff up, for which there was scarcely room, and then discharged his opposite broadside into the stern and larboard quarter of the "Jacobin," who returned the fire with such of her guns as could be brought to bear, one of which shot away the "Queen Charlotte's" fore-topmast. It was a little after ten when these events occurred, and if the French Admiral had here shown firmness enough (when the British Admiral was placed without any assistance near him, between an 120 and an 80-gun ship) to have bore up with the "Montagne" athwart the hawse of the British three-decker, "c'en était fait de lui;" but instead of this, Admiral Villaret made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and such other ships as had suffered like him in their rigging and sails, so that at 11.30 the heat of the action was already over, and the British remained with eleven, and the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships, just floating on the sea; but up to this moment none of the French ships had struck their colours. The "Cæsar," Captain Molloy, the van or leading ship, engaged the French ship "Trajan," but nothing came of this; the next in the British line was the "Bellerophon," with Rear-Admiral Pasley's flag, which opened her broadside on "L'Eole" with good effect; but soon afterwards the Admiral lost his leg, but the ship continued under Captain W. Hope to contend with both the "Trajan" and "L'Eole," until she was fain to signal the "Latona," Captain Thornborough, who came to her assistance, and at length both her opponents were beaten off, though the "Bellerophon" lost her fore and main-topmasts, had her main-mast dangerously wounded, and all her running rigging cut to pieces in the action. The "Leviathan" engaged "L'Amérique," and a close and furious fight ensued: the French ship lost her foremast, main and mizen-masts, leaving this gallant and well-defended ship a log upon the waters, though she kept her colours flying from one of the stumps, until boarded from the "Royal Sovereign." The "Russell" and the "Téméraire" were opponents. The "Royal Sovereign" and the "Terrible," the former with Admiral Graves's flag, and the latter with that of Admiral Boscawen, came to blows, and the former Admiral was badly wounded.

The "Impétueux" and the "Mucius" fought with the "Marborough," and both ships hauled down their colours, but the latter effected her escape. The "Defence" got horribly mauled by the "Mucius" and the "Tourville," and was taken in tow by the "Phaeton," Captain Bentinck. The "Brunswick" and "Vengeur" commenced a furious engagement, and got so locked, that on the master inquiring if he should cut the ship clear, Captain Harvey replied, "No, we have got her, and we will keep her;" which after a murderous contest he did, and in the fight the "Achille," who came up to her consort's assistance, was also captured. The "Valiant" engaged the "Patriote," and the "Orion" the "Northumberland," without result; but the "Queen" came athwart the "Jemmappes" and, after having cut down all her masts, made her strike her colours, but the "Queen" was in too disabled a state to take possession, and the "Jemmappes" was therefore towed away by a French frigate. The "Scipion" in this day of dreadful carnage was so crippled that it was all but a miracle that she escaped, but she rigged her jurmasts and joined her Admiral. The "Royal George," carrying Sir Alexander Hood's flag, passed through the line, maintaining a hot action as she passed with both the "Sanspareil" and "Républicain." Upon the clearing of the smoke, the French Admiral saw the state of things, but nevertheless, contrary to all expectation, he had succeeded in recovering the "Républicain," "Mucius," "Scipion," "Jemmappes," and "Terrible," and was now content to give up the fight and retire at 1.15, when the firing ceased. The "Sanspareil," 80, "La Juste," 80, "L'Amérique," 74, "Le Northumberland," 74, "L'Achille," 74, and "L'Impétueux," 74, were taken possession of at half-past two, but not without some of them reopening their fire upon their assailants. Another French 74, the "Vengeur," was not taken possession of till some hours later, when she went down with upwards of 200 of her crew on board. The French tell a fine story of this ship going down to the cry of "Vive la République, Vive la Liberté, et la France;" but it detracts a little from the story that her Captain, Renaudin, who commanded her, got into the boats and saved himself; he is nevertheless spoken of as a "gallant man."

Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which the British lost 290 killed, including Captain Montagu of the "Montagu," 74, and 858 wounded, including Admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and Captains Hutt, of the "Queen," and Harvey, of the "Ramillies," the latter of whom subsequently died after amputation of a limb. The French speak of their loss as 3000, but the captured ships alone showed a greater amount of casualties than the whole British fleet. The citizen, Jean-Bon-Saint-André, was the commissary of the Convention on board the Admiral's ship, the "Montagne," and if the French account of this contest be correct, "Le citoyen ne peut surmonter la frayeur qu'il éprouve et se hâte de descendre à la première batterie," from whence he did not again appear, "sur le pont de 'Montagne,'" except to order the Admiral to give up the battle; nevertheless, on his arrival at Brest he made a report to the Convention, impudently asserting a victory, and stating "que les six vaisseaux amarinés par l'ennemi



avaient été laissé en mer pour poursuivre les vaincus." Flowers were accordingly strewed in the path of this national representative at Brest, and Barrère obtained a decree of the Convention that the fleet "avait bien mérité de la patrie," so that their Commander-in-Chief was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral, notwithstanding his defeat.

Lord Howe was received in England with distinguished honours. On the morning of the 13th he landed amidst salutes and cheers at Portsmouth; and on the 26th their Majesties visited the Admiral in person, on board the "Queen Charlotte," under the royal standard. The King presented him with a diamond-hilted sword, of the value of 3000 guineas; and gold medals were struck for the occasion and given to all the flag-officers. It had been believed that the Monarch would have invested the Admiral commanding in chief with the Order of the Garter on the occasion of the victory, which, however, he did not do until three years later. The two Admirals next in command to Lord Howe were made peers, the one by the title of Lord Viscount Bridport, and the other Baron Graves. The Rear-Admirals and the Captain of the fleet, Sir Roger Curtis, were all created baronets with pensions of 1000*l.* a year. Thanks of both Houses of Parliament and the freedom of the City were also showed on the officers for this mighty victory, and noble funds were raised for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the battle.

A French squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Neilly had quitted Rochefort before the great fleet had gone to sea, with the intention of forming a junction with a convoy numbering 117 sail, coming from the United States deeply laden with West India produce, under the protection of Admiral Vanstabel. The "Patriote," 74, who belonged to this squadron, had the good fortune off Newfoundland to fall in with and capture the British frigate "Castor," 32, Captain Thomas Troubridge, along with the chief part of a convoy which he had in charge, and this distinguished officer was a prisoner on board the "Sanspareil" during the whole of Lord Howe's action. His ship, the "Castor," had been put into the French service under Captain D. Huillier, and on the 29th of May had encountered the "Carysfort," 28, Captain Francis Laforey, when after an action which lasted an hour and a quarter, the "Castor" again hauled down the French colours, and was restored to the rank she had formerly held in the British service. Upon the arrival of the "Audacious" in Plymouth Sound on the 3rd of June (as has been already recorded), bringing the intelligence that the British and French fleets were in action, Rear-Admiral Montagu weighed and put to sea, with nine sail of the line and two frigates, and on the 8th arrived off Ushant. The same day he despatched twelve sail in the offing, and gave chase; they proved to be a French squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Cornice, who immediately, with all sail they could carry, stood into the Bay of Bertheaume. Rear-Admiral Montagu accordingly tacked and stood off under easy sail, when next morning at seven A.M. a fleet was seen bearing west, and discovered to be nineteen sail of the line and

three frigates. This was the remnant of the grand fleet standing in for land. The British Admiral now finding he had a fleet on either side, each nearly double in number to himself, continued his course to the southward, and the whole French fleet bore up in pursuit; but about five P.M., when his headmost ships were within four miles of the British rear, the French Admiral, afraid of being drawn to leeward of his port with his crippled ships, hauled upon a wind to the eastward on the larboard tack, and was soon lost sight of<sup>1</sup>.

On the 17th the "Romney," 50, Captain the Honourable William Paget, passing near the island of Miconi in the Archipelago, with a merchant convoy, discovered the French frigate "Sibylle," 40, Chef-de-Division Rondeau, with a broad pendant and a convoy. To save the effusion of blood, Captain Paget sent a message to the French commander desiring him to surrender his ship, which the Commodore refused, saying he had made an oath never to strike his colours even to superior force. An action accordingly commenced, and in an hour and ten minutes the "Sibylle" hauled down her colours, and with her convoy was taken possession of by the "Romney."

## 22. CAPTURE OF THE FRENCH WEST INDIAN ISLANDS.

Early this year a fleet under Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, and General Sir Charles Grey, was despatched against the French island of Martinique. On the 18th, 19th, and 20th of March batteries were established against the town of Port Royal and Fort Bourbon, and it was determined to assault the fort on the latter day. The "Asia," 64, Captain Brown, and the "Zebra," sloop, 16, Captain Faulkner, furnished a body of seamen for the boats; and the land force consisted of the 1st and 3rd grenadiers under Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, and the 1st and 3rd light infantry under Lieut.-Colonels Eyre Coote, and Close. The naval force was commanded by Commodore Thompson, and the land force was under Colonel Symes, and Lieut.-Colonel Buckeridge. The assault on Fort Royal was made on the 20th; the "Asia" was to have been carried into her station by the former lieutenant of the port, M. de Tourelles, but in a fit of patriotism he refused to pilot her in; and observing the "Asia" baffled, Captain Faulkner in the "Zebra" dashed singly on to her post in defiance of showers of grape, leaped overboard when he got close to the fort, and at the head of his sloop's company assailed it with all the force and animation that characterize English seamen in the face of an enemy, before the boats could get the rest of the men on shore. This gallant attack had its due effect on M. Rochambeau, the Governor of Fort Bourbon, and the British flag was hoisted upon the island of Martinique on the 23rd. On the 1st of April the expedition proceeded to the attack of St. Lucia, and after the troops had assaulted and carried the outposts, General Ricard, the Governor of Morne Fortunée, entered into terms for the surrender of the whole island. Prince Edward, the father of Her present Majesty, was on duty on both these occasions.

<sup>1</sup> James.

On the 11th of April the united services made a descent on the French island of Guadaloupe. The landing was covered by the "Winchelsea," Captain Lord Garlies, who stood in so close to the enemy's batteries, that their guns were soon silenced, and his Lordship was the only man wounded. The 43rd and 93rd regiments, under Major-General Dundas, and the seamen with their pikes and cutlasses, assaulted and took possession of a strong fort called Fleur d'Épée on the 12th. This success served to put Sir Charles Grey into immediate possession of Grande Terre. A great number of the enemy escaped into Basse Terre, whither they were followed on the 14th, and the famous post of Palmiste was carried, when General Collot, the Governor, seeing all his forts in the hands of the invaders, proposed a surrender of the island and all its dependencies on the 20th. Prince Edward again had a command on this occasion and gained distinction, and the loss of the British was about ten men. Having placed Major-General Dundas in the command of Guadaloupe with what was deemed a sufficient garrison, the expedition sailed away. On the 3rd of June a squadron of nine French ships appeared off the village of Gosier, and commenced disembarking troops under the command of the famous Victor Hugues as civil commissary. Colonel Drummond commanding the fort at Fleur d'Épée had with him about 300 men, of which nearly 200 were French royalists; these men loudly demanded to be led against the invaders, but at the first shot they turned about and all but about thirty threw their arms away and deserted. Drummond's garrison could now therefore scarcely number 150 men, who were soon obliged to abandon the fort, retiring into Fort St. Louis, when he found his force still further reduced to about forty men; with these he embarked in boats and got away to Grande Terre. As soon as the arrival of the French squadron was known to Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey they returned to Guadaloupe, but it was the 19th before they could effect a landing at Anse-à-Canot; several skirmishes ensued between the troops to the end of June without result, and on the 2nd of July an unsuccessful attack was made at Pointe-à-Pitre; on the 3rd the British re-embarked after a loss of about 100 men, and quitted possession of Guadaloupe.

About this time the principal forts in San Domingo were wrested from the French Republic by an expedition under Commodore Ford and Colonel Whitelock, consisting of four ships of the line and three frigates, with the 13th and 41st regiments, and the flank companies of the 49th, when Cape Tibnoon and the French capital of Port-au-Prince surrendered to the British by capitulation on the 5th of June, and sixteen ships and brigs richly laden with colonial goods came into the hands of the conquerors.

### 23. WAR IN LA VENDÉE—DEATH OF LA ROCHE-JACQUELIN.

After the butchery of Savenay in December last year, Charette kept the contest alive by obtaining possession by surprise of the island of Noirmoutiers, a rock south of the Loire, about seven leagues in circumference, separated from the main by a branch of the sea,

which runs in with the tide like a mill-stream, and which contained a harmless population of some 8000 souls. The Vendean chief made this a place d'armes, and left a garrison there under Pinaud, while he foraged the country between Salles, where Joly beat up for recruits, and Chatillon, where La Roche-Jacquelin held out. General Thurreau arrived at the close of the year to command the republican forces, and forthwith took possession of this island on the 5th of January, with a force of 3000 men and a naval armament. The garrison succeeded in disabling one of the frigates, "La Nymphe," but descents were effected on several points, and the royalists shut themselves up in the town. Here Pinaud, on being summoned, surrendered on terms. As soon as he had obtained possession, Thurreau swept the island of every suspected person; among them was found D'Elbée, one of the chief leaders of the insurrection, riddled by the wounds he had received at the battle of Chollet. No consideration was allowed to spare the prisoners; priests, women, children, all were brought to head-quarters, and pitilessly shot.

These unnatural excesses produced in the provinces an effect quite contrary to what had been intended. From these wholesale murders multitudes escaped, burning with hate and vengeance; they concealed themselves in the vast forests of La Vendée, and in the many marshy tracts with which the woody region abounds; animated with resentment at their privation of the means of existence, and having no longer any thing to lose but their lives, they were determined to hazard all to be revenged on their oppressors. The intrepid and valiant Charette, though he was now deprived of Noirmoutiers and had been driven before General Charpentier from Machecoul, had secretly visited his discontented partisans and roused them again to action; by this means he assembled around his standard 10,000 or 12,000 men. Cathelineau was also in the field, and La Roche Jacquelin and Stoffet were stirring in Anjou. At this period also the Chouans joined the revolt, and began to make their appearance in Brittany. These took their name from three young men, the sons of a substantial owner of some iron-foundries; they put themselves at the head of a number of the youth of that province whom they prevailed upon to take up arms for the royal cause. They at first showed themselves in the neighbourhood of Fougères. The disasters which had happened to the Vendéans at Savenay and elsewhere helped powerfully to recruit the ranks of the Chouans; for the fugitives saw no other means of safety than to direct their course to Brittany. These various parties boldly blockaded the republican quarters, prevented their communications with each other, reconnoitred, patrolled, watched, captured individuals and small parties, but could never be met with *en masse campagne*. To meet these scattered and to all appearance not very formidable opponents, General Thurreau formed twelve columns of attack of about 1500 men each, which were to set off together on the 20th of January, and ravage the country, with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other, until they all met at Chollet for further orders. Charette contrived to intercept three of these

columns by the intelligence which he received, which enabled him to fall on them successively before they could be collected for the support of each other. Joly stopped one of them at Legé, whence the column was driven into Nantes. The Vendean chieftain lost two sons in this action, one at his side and the other in the republican ranks. On the 10th of February Charette encountered General Duquesnoy at St. Colombin; a rivulet separated the combatants; the royalists rushed across it to the attack, regardless of the means resorted to by the General to oppose them. Having no expert soldiers among them, the royalists continued to overlook the utility of cannon, but taught by fatal experience what destructive engines they were in dexterous hands, they were very alert at the beginning of a contest in depriving their antagonists of their guns. Their manner of doing this was singular: ten or twelve stout-bodied and resolute men were selected for the taking of each gun; armed only with cutlasses they ran circuitously with the utmost speed towards the piece they were appointed to seize; the moment they saw the match applied, they fell on their faces, and when the report was heard they arose and proceeded in the same manner till they had reached their intended object, which they rarely failed to spike. But these means of attack were soon stopped. Charette found himself turned by Duquesnoy at Pont-James, and leaving 700 or 800 dead on the field, the rest fled into the forest of Servièrre.

La Roche-Jacquelin had contrived to pass with 1200 men between two of Thurreau's columns, and fell upon the little town of Chemillé, which he entered. General Cordellier was immediately directed to get together two of the columns and advance on Gâté. La Roche-Jacquelin, calling in Stofflet to his assistance, took post on the 4th of March at the village of Trementine, near the forest of Végins, and fell at once on the republicans, whom he forced back on Nouaillé. In their pursuit, the Vendéans came on two soldiers concealed in the bushes, and could have sacrificed them, but La Roche-Jacquelin coming up at the moment, called out, "*Rendez-vous — je vous fais grâce.*" One of these scoundrels hearing the leader's name brought him down with his musket, and was immediately hacked to pieces by the royalists; but La Roche-Jacquelin's wound was fatal, and thus fell at the age of twenty-two, in this most ignoble manner, one of the greatest chiefs of the Vendean party. He is recorded as an officer of the most promising virtues and talents, who had on all occasions exhibited great courage and capacity. At the same time, in the ranks of the royalists, there fell a young lady, strongly attached to him, and who now, unable to bear his loss and impatient to revenge his death, rushed forward at the head of a few followers into the midst of the enemy, where she soon met her fate and her sex was recognized.

Stofflet assumed the command. He had long been jealous of the more popular young leader's merits, and no sooner had his companions rendered in haste the last duties to the body of their chief, than with a selfishness which was a great drawback to his unquestioned bravery, he exclaimed, "*Ce n'était pas grand' chose que*

votre La Roche-Jacquelin." However, he immediately collected all the force he could muster, and on the 10th with 4000 or 5000 men fell upon Chollet, defended by General Moulins. This General in vain endeavoured to arrest the attack of the royalists; his men were deaf to all his appeals and fled away in haste. General Caffin as well as himself was wounded; poor Moulins fell from his horse, and would have been cut to pieces by the insurgents, but that he anticipated his fate by blowing out his own brains. The news of this disaster soon reached General Cordellier, who advanced and surprised Stofflet in Chollet, and after a considerable massacre the royalists were again driven out of it.

General Thurreau kept steadily on the traces of Charette, and on the 19th General Haxo came up with him at Venansault, near Bourbon-Vendée. The Vendean chief knowing well his ground, defended himself successfully; and in the conflict Haxo was struck in the thigh while leaping a ditch, and came to the ground. Charette desired he might be brought to him alive, but General Haxo refusing to surrender, was shot dead in the struggle. General Thurreau was now directed by the government to send a corps of 4000 or 5000 men against the Chouans, on the side of Brest, and was obliged to leave Charette and Stofflet to be observed as well as they might by General Cordellier, while he established sixteen intrenched camps, to keep down the insurrection in his absence. About the same time, the Convention, considering the insurrection suppressed by these measures, withdrew fifteen battalions of the Vendean army to Bayonne, to strengthen the Pyrenean armies.

The Vendean chiefs, informed of all these circumstances, met together at Jallais, in the first days of May. The difficulty was in settling who should be deemed the chief; the enumeration of the forces of the insurrection gave 38,000 men, with ten guns—of these about 2000 were considered as cavalry, but in this arm they were necessarily deficient. The horses which they could command from their own resources were taken from the plough and other slow work, and were almost useless for the field: The only proper horses they could obtain were what they took from the enemy, but the republican troops, well aware of the deficiency of their opponents in respect to cavalry, were desirous after every defeat to spare their own as much as possible, and generally succeeded in doing so. To regulate the recruitment of their forces, La Vendée was now divided by the royalists into three *arrondissements*: Stofflet was to command in the country about the Loire, Charette in that along the coasts, and Sapineau was to direct the affairs of the intermediate district about Rennes. The Abbé Bernier now comes on the stage as one of the Vendean leaders, and was of especial service to the councils of Stofflet, while for his own purposes he fomented the jealousies between him and Charette. In Brittany, the Comtes de Puisaye and Séepeaux, Bourmont, and Georges Cadoudal, with other chiefs, kept alive the insurrection, and occupied the attention of 30,000 men sent to watch them from Brest and Cherbourg. Thurreau was displaced and succeeded by General Canclaux, who endeavoured without success to

clear the forest of Perche of the Chouans; and about the middle of June his forces were again diminished by the withdrawal of 15,000 men to reinforce the army of the Moselle.

#### 24. WAR ON THE PYRENEAN FRONTIER.

We must withdraw our attention now to the state of the contest of the Republic on its Pyrenean frontier. In the Western Pyrenees, the two armies in face of each other had employed themselves during the winter in occupying with some kind of fortification "every coigne of vantage." The French had formed an intrenched camp in front of St. Jean de Luz, which in the language of the times was called "Le Camp des Sans Culottes," and this was intended especially for the discipline and promotion of the young conscripts, who were sent here to replace the regular battalions, withdrawn to defend the necessities of the Republic in other directions. These now consisted of forty battalions, and were under the command of General Frégeville, having under him Colonel Espinasse, of the artillery, charged more particularly with the construction of the fortifications.

The Spanish army of the West Pyrenees had sent off its best divisions to reinforce the army of Roussillon, on the East, but at this time it consisted of some 20,000 men (in great proportion militia), under the command of the Captain-General Ventura-Caro; and an engineer had the direction of the defences. These last were, however, very inferior in strength and extent to the earthworks of the French, which consisted of strong forts united by curtains, and having in front redoubts, and redans, and other epaulments, formed in echelons for the defence of each other. This line extended along the frontier between the two states, from the sources of the Nive to Andaye. Here was a very strong redoubt called "Le Calvaire d'Urrugne," and another, "Le Croix des Bouquets." Caro resolved to attempt on the 5th of February to carry these works, and thus taking the offensive intended to invade France by crossing the frontier. The right of the Spanish army was commanded by the Duke d'Ossuna, at Burguette; the centre, under Lieutenant-General Urutia, occupied the Bastan Valley; and the left, under Lieutenant-General Gil, occupied the main camp at St. Martial, near to Yrun. The troops were set in motion at early morning in several columns, and fell with such effect upon "Le Calvaire," that they carried this redoubt and there established themselves; another column got possession of "Le Croix des Bouquets," from whence they cannonaded heavily "Le Camp des Sans Culottes." General Frégeville was at the moment absent, and Colonel Espinasse thought it best to relinquish the advanced posts, and to collect his troops around a strong redoubt which he had fortified with much care and armed with several guns. Proud of their first successes, the Spaniards advanced on the work called "La Redoute de la Liberté," and a fierce contest ensued. On the one side some French marines recently arrived from Toulon were destroyed. On the Spanish side the Irish regiment of Ultonia was cut to pieces. At this auspicious moment, when the enemy were checked in their advance, Frégeville arrived, but generously

replied to Colonel Espinasse, who offered to resign the command, "Non, tu en a bien usé ; achève ton ouvrage et que La France te doive cette belle journée toute entière." After the combat had lasted eight hours, Caro found he could not force the intrenchment, and gave orders to retreat, which his troops did in good order.

The Spanish General had in vain demanded reinforcements ; he was now ordered to remain entirely on the defensive. The Spanish government had resolved that all the offensive energies should be directed against the enemy in the Eastern Pyrenees, where General de la Union was sent to take the command in the place of Ricardos, who had retired from it to die at Madrid. The French Committee of Public Safety gave the command of their army in the Eastern Pyrenees to General Dugommier, who arrived about the end of December, and found himself at the head of an army of 35,000 men, in bad condition, encamped in front of Perpignan, between Thuir on their right and St. Nazaire on their left, while a separate corps, under General Dagobert, occupied La Cerdagne, along the sources of the Tet, and across the Spanish frontier as far as Belver.

The French army took the initiative on the 27th of March ; the right wing was under Augereau, at Mas d'En ; the left under Sauret, at Ortaffa : the reserve under Victor. Dagobert was ordered to remain quiet, but a spirit like his was impatient of repose, and he advanced on the 7th of April, in spite of orders, with 6000 men, on Monteillas, and drove back the enemy as far as Castel-Ciudad, taking from them seven pieces of caannon. He at the same time imposed a contribution on Seu d'Urgel and its neighbourhood ; but the exertion was too much for a frame that had now to endure its seventy-sixth winter, and he fell ill from fatigue, and died of a malignant fever on the 21st of May, much regretted by the French army.

## 25. BATTLE OF BOULON.

The Marquis de las Amarillas held the command of the Spanish army in the camp of Boulon, which he had fortified with particular care, and which appeared calculated to bar most effectually all entrance into the upper valley of the Tech, by two formidable redoubts called "Trompettes Hautes" and "Montesquieu." The fortress Bellegarde on the top of the mountains covered his rear, and his right rested on Collioure and Port Vendre. General La Union arrived to assume the command in the last days of April, and removed his head-quarters higher up the valley to Ceret, and sent a detachment under the command of General Medinuetta to occupy Oms and Taillet on the hills to his left—a capital fault, since he thus shut himself up in the valley of the Tech, away from his communications.

The French engineers had remarked that the most formidable works of the camp of Boulon were commanded by a height called "L'Hermitage de St. Christophe : " accordingly on the night of the 29th—30th General Martin, with seven battalions and some cavalry, crossed the Tech, and passing the centre of the Spanish army attained by a forced march the heights of Albères, and so came down upon



the hermitage, which to his surprise he found unoccupied. He immediately sent forward his Adjutant-General Frère, with 800 men, to attack the Trompettes redoubt, defended by Maréchal-de-Camp Arias. General Perignon with a corps of 6000 men had been able to occupy Villelongue, and finding no signs of life, for the troops had been withdrawn for the intended advance from Ceret, he sent forward two brigades to the attack of the redoubt Montesquiou. General La Union had been so engrossed with the attack he had meditated and prepared under Mediuuetta, that no preparation had been made against the French advance in the direction of the redoubts; but as soon as the General-in-Chief heard of these movements, he sent the Prince of Monforte with some battalions to assist in their defence, and to unite with Count del Puerto: but the single regiment that defended Montesquiou, under Don Francisco Vénégas, had been already vanquished, and he himself, wounded and overcome, had escaped with difficulty. The Trompettes redoubt had been also carried. La Union, instead of hastening to the front to repair these misfortunes, called a council of war in the night at Ceret, when the chief of the staff, Morla, proposed an immediate attack on General Perignon, but, as usual in councils of war, the safe course was proposed and adopted, and it was determined to abandon the French territory, and at once to retire behind the Pyrenees. Measures were accordingly taken to call back the division of Mediuuetta across the Tech, which was to pass the bridge of Ceret, and march upon Maureillas.

Impatient of the return of daylight and strengthened by two brigades and some cavalry which had, in the course of the night, joined Perignon, the French were on the alert at five in the morning of the 1st of May, and fell upon the Count del Puerto in his intrenchments. With some difficulty the Count got clear of the camp and reached the high road to Bellegarde, by which he crossed the mountains; but General Martin having, in the pursuit, possessed himself of Hautes Ecluses, the Prince of Monforte was unable to follow his comrade, and fell back, accordingly, to join La Union between Maureillas and Ceret. The whole Spanish army was utterly compromised, by being thus cut off from the pass by Bellegarde, since no other communication across the mountains remained to them but the Col de Porteil. There was, indeed, a means of mounting the Tech to its source and crossing the mountains between the two St. Laurents; but there was no time for reflection, and nothing left but flight, and, accordingly, every chief took his own way. Vivas marched from the camp at Boulon across the bridge of Ceret, but was obliged to sacrifice three battalions, and escaped with one brigade by pushing for St. Laurent de Cerdà. The troops of Monforte and Amarillas disbanded and got across the Col de Porteil *en abeille*. Augereau, seeing the distresses of the Spaniards, brought forward his cavalry under Labbarre, who rushed on the whole artillery, shut up in the defile of Maureillas, and captured 140 guns, 800 mules, all the baggage and camp equipage, and 1500 prisoners.

The Count de la Union arrived some days later at Figueras, when

he found that his right, under Navarro, at Collioure, was yet intact; his left was soon established again at St. Laurent de la Mouga, by the fugitives collected on every side, and he thought he had again an army to take the field, and though without a single gun, he hoped to be able to establish himself on the mountain frontier. But his enemy was not disposed to allow him much time to adopt any such determination. On the 6th Augereau, with 4000 men, had passed across the Pyrenean summit and appeared before St. Laurent, of which he possessed himself with little resistance. Here he found a foundry and cloth manufactory, both of very great service to the victorious army. Dugommier at the same time sent forward General Sauret, supported by Victor, to invest Collioure. Perignon, marching up from Boulon by the high road, sat down before Bellegarde and pushed forward to the Col de Porteil, which the Spaniards evacuated, and he then crossed and pushed forward seven battalions to establish a camp at Darnuys, which connected him with Augereau at St. Laurent. But the siege of so many places at once was beyond the means that General Dugommier had at his command, and low for some time detained the republicans in complete inaction.

Under these circumstances La Union thought to attempt something to wipe out the affront and disgrace he had received at Boulon and Ceret, and accordingly, on the 19th of May, he directed the brigades of Vivas and Solana to threaten Augereau at St. Laurent, while Medinuetta, with all the cavalry, was to advance against General Perignon's camp at De la Jonquiere, covering the siege of Bellegarde; Puerto, with his brigade, was at the same time directed to introduce himself between the two camps and cut off their means of communication. But the attempt was too complicated, and failed. Vivas and Solana were overthrown by General Mirabel; Puerto was met by General Guyeux; Perignon moved forward two brigades to repel Medinuetta, and the affair was soon terminated, leaving 800 Spaniards prisoners in the hands of the republicans. A French flotilla of seventeen vessels had in the mean while arrived off the coast with the munitions of siege on the 6th of May, and siege was now regularly laid to St. Elme, which lies between, and in some sort commands, both Collioure and Port Vendre. The Maréchal-de-Camp Navarro commanded here with a garrison of 8000 men. On the 16th the Spaniards made a combined sortie from all three places, and very nearly captured Dugommier himself in the open trenches, who, though he escaped, was wounded in the struggle. Nine 24-pounders opened upon St. Elme on the 10th, and on the 23rd the General-in-Chief, irritated at the delay of a fortnight in the surrender of so poor a place, determined to try the effect of escalade. Owing, as it was said, to too much rashness, this failed; but the garrison thought it time to ask for terms. Those demanded were, however, so severe, that the garrison determined to desert the place, and throw themselves into Collioure and Port Vendre. On this the French fire turned upon the latter, which induced the entire garrison to shut themselves up in Collioure. Here, on the 24th, Navarro received a proposal from Admiral Gravina to bring his fleet from the Gulf of

Rosas for his preservation, and on the 26th the Admiral, on the point of anchoring off the place, was encountered by such a storm, that he was obliged to leave the coast, and the Governor in his abandonment surrendered Collioure with its garrison of 7000 men, on the 29th, on the sole condition of their being permitted to return to Spain, in exchange for an equal number of French prisoners. In the short delay while the negotiations lasted, a regiment of French emigrants, called "*Légion de la Reine*," under Lieut.-Colonel Amoros, succeeded in making their escape in an open boat and avoiding the fate that would inevitably have awaited them from the republicans. General La Union refused to ratify the capitulation made by Navarro, upon the ground that a body of 7000 men should have endeavoured to cut their way through the investing forces, before entering into any terms of surrender.

The command of the corps of La Cerdagne, after Dagobert's death, fell on General Doppet, who, on the 4th of June, made an inroad upon the Spanish divisions left in charge of the several passes across the mountains. With little difficulty the French got possession of Campredon, and, driving out some militia near Oquendo, advanced as far as Ripoll. But the Count de la Union had no mind that these troops should subsist on the contributions of his countrymen, and ordered Vivas, with five battalions and some militia, to drive them back, while General Cuesta, who commanded a small division at Seu d'Urgel, was to advance and threaten the valley of the Segre, so as to bring back the republican troops to protect their own resources. Vivas succeeded well in his mission; and on the 18th of June the French retired out of Campredon with the loss of two guns and some prisoners. Cuesta marched on the 25th with 3400 infantry and 400 cavalry, but was stopped by some republican troops intrenched near Belver and obliged to retrace his steps; the Brigadier Baria attained the plain of Puycerda, where he encountered some of Doppet's divisions, who would have crushed him, but that he was able to escape across the Puginal Pass, with the loss of 200 prisoners and some baggage.

## 26. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER.

On the frontier of the Alps and Italy, as Kellermann had been summoned to the bar of the Convention for his conduct at Lyons, he was succeeded in the command by General Dumas, who had forty battalions and fourteen squadrons in La Valais, while General Dumerbion lay with an equal number between Entrevaux and the sea near Mentone. Piedmont, threatened with extinction, had not only collected for its defence a native force of 45,000 men, but had called to its aid an auxiliary corps of 8000 Austrians, and was also expecting 18,000 Neapolitans to join them (who, by the way, never arrived). The right of their intended defence rested on Mount St. Bernard, where the Duke de Montferrat commanded 10,000 Sardinians. The Duke de Chablais was in the centre, and Lieut.-General Colli in the line of Saorgio on the left with 16,000 men, having Generals Strasoldo, Provera, and Argenteau to defend the Col de

Fenestre. The whole army was under the orders of the Duke d'Aoste.

The French government had not at this time directed its attention to Italian conquests, and was satisfied to direct its generals to possess themselves of all the debouches that led across the mountains into France, leaving to each commander to interpret these orders independently of one another. Accordingly General Sauret tried and failed to take Mont Cenis on the 24th of March, which General Dumas obtained on the 15th of May, not without some loss of men and guns. The great push was to be made against the formidable barrier of the Saorgio. Dumerbion, under whom Bonaparte was now serving as General of artillery, had already appreciated his abilities, and acting, it is thought, by his advice, it was determined to make the attempt to turn the left of the lines of the Saorgio, and at the same time by occupying Fontana, the high road, to possess themselves of the Col di Tende, in the rear of Colli's retreat. Massena assembled for the attack 20,000 men with twenty guns at Meutone, on the 1st of April. He sent General Harrel with 4500 men and two guns to attack Tourcoin, and General Laharpe with 9500 men and fourteen guns was directed to move on Tanaro. Dumerbion remained in position in front of the lines, while General Mouret marched along the coast on Oneglia, which, in revenge for some piracies which had damaged the French commerce, was sacked, and, pushing forward, this General, after taking several towns on the sea-coast, united with Laharpe at La Pieve. Massena thence went boldly across the mountains, was in possession of Ormea on the 17th, from which Argenteau retired, and had he pushed on to Ceva it is probable that place would have also fallen; but the French General would not be drawn away from his principal object, and had reason to fear that Argenteau would be reinforced, and return upon him. Gratified by this almost unexpected success, Bonaparte solicited the commissaries to permit him to return to General Dumerbion by way of Nice, and try to induce the General-in-Chief to make a serious attack on the front of the Sardinian lines, which was granted. In the mean while Dumerbion had sent off the division of General Serrurier from La Ghiandola upon the outposts of the camp of Raous, and continuing his march with the division of Macquart arrived at Saorgio on the 28th, at the very same time that Massena, who marched under the direction of Colonel Rusca (an old sportsman who knew all the mountain paths), found himself in presence of the redoubt of the Col Ardente. The Piedmontese showered shot and shell, grape, and even stones, upon the assailants, who nevertheless succeeded, but with the loss of two generals. Generals Serrurier and Macquart then attacked Colli, and drove him right through the Col di Tende. The Duke d'Aoste collected his army as well as he could about Ceva, where he rested, as it were, blockaded on all sides by the republicans. Thus the republicans on this frontier were masters of the principal chain of the Alps, and it is believed that Bonaparte recommended the junction of the armies of Italy and the Alps for a descent upon Piedmont,

like as he himself effected it two years after; but General Dumas now received orders to send away 10 000 men to the army of the Rhine, and did not think himself equal to so bold an attempt.

#### 27. INVENTION OF THE TELEGRAPH.

In the midst of the war, and for the purposes of the war, a new invention, which we are now disposed to regard as a harbinger of peace, was first made known to the world. The invention of the telegraph was announced by Barrère to the French Convention on the 17th of August this year. The news, he said, of the recapture of Lisle, in the previous year, had reached Paris by means of this new machine in an hour after the troops of the Republic had entered that place; and the recapture of Condé, on the 30th of the last month, was reported to the Convention with equal speed in the same manner. There is every reason to believe, however, that the principle of the telegraph was by no means a modern invention. It is even recorded that the burning of Troy was made known in Greece very soon after it had happened, by some sort of telegraph. The Marquis of Worcester has recorded it in his *Century of Inventions*; but M. Amontons, in the beginning of the century, not only made it known in the *Journal des Savans*, but tried his method publicly before several persons of the Academy of Sciences, and it is recorded and explained by Foutenelle. Claude Chappe, a French mechanician of this time, is however entitled to the credit of having introduced the telegraph into an useful system: but, alas! inventors are rarely happy or prosperous; the unhappy projector sacrificed his life at the early age of forty-two, in consequence of some illiberal attacks made upon his invention, which threw him into a profound melancholy, and led him to commit suicide in 1805. The manner of using the telegraph at this first essay was the following: Chappe, with the assistance of his brother, formed between Paris and Lisle, at distances of three or four leagues apart, a line of stations, at each of which he constructed one of his machines. At the first station, which was on the roof of the Louvre, M. Chappe stationed himself and received a despatch from the government, which was delivered at Lisle in thirteen minutes and forty seconds. This being deemed satisfactory, the despatch was conveyed in like manner announcing the surrender of Condé, though a distance of about fifty leagues. At a moment when the two hemispheres are rejoicing in their union by means founded on this invention, it is just and reasonable to record the name of the inventor, Claude Chappe, and his untimely end, caused by the illiberality of his contemporaries.

The event communicated by the telegraph, the fall of Condé, completed the inaction which had followed the successes of Pichegru and Jourdain, and the separation of the British and Dutch army, under the Duke of York, from the Austrian army which had been with it, under the supreme command of Field-Marshal the Prince of Coburg. The six weeks, which might have been better employed, perhaps, by the allies, were productive of but one event, which was, to bring to an end the military career of the Generalissimo. At a grand council of

war held at Maestricht the first days of August, at which the ministers of England and Holland were present (but of which the proceedings have not been published), the Prince, either finding his influence diminished or lost, or disgusted with the bad success that had attended the campaign, gave in his resignation of the command of the allied armies.

## 28. RESIGNATION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE GENERALISSIMO PRINCE OF COBURG.

This General was a cadet of the Sovereign Ducal House of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld, and born in 1737. He commenced his military career in the Seven Years' War, where he held several subordinate commands, which gained him a reputation, so that in 1787 the Emperor placed him at the head of his army destined to act in conjunction with the Russians under Suwarrow against the Turks in 1789-90. The combined generals gained several victories over the enemy, especially those of Fokschani and Martinjestie, which elevated the military character of the Prince of Coburg. In 1793 the Prince assumed the chief command of the allied armies destined to act against the French in the Netherlands: at their head he gained in the same year the battles of Neerwinden, Aldenhoven, and Famars, and captured Landrecy, Condé, Valenciennes, and Quesnoy, but was not equally fortunate before Maubeuge and Dunkirk, and the following year his good fortune altogether failed him, and he was forced to retire before the republicans, and to witness the separation of his army and the recapture of all his conquests. After he had resigned his command he never served again, and it was almost to the surprise of a new generation, who had never seen him nor known him as a military commander in their day, to learn that he still survived at the age of seventy-eight, at the close of the war in 1815.

As a soldier the Prince of Coburg was brave rather than bold, vigilant than active; always full of hope, but temporizing rather than enterprising, indolent and procrastinating. He could give a severe blow, but not follow it up; either his strength or his courage was exhausted by single efforts. He was best when he had a coadjutor to urge him on; and one reason for the difference that marks his early and later career as a commander may have been that the fiery Suwarrow kept him to his work; but when the Emperor and the Aulic Council prescribed for him, he fell into Austrian habits and lost all his natural energy. It may appear a paradox to speak of timidity in a brave soldier, but either the timidity or the indolence of the Duke Frederick lost him the battle of Wattignies before half his army had come into action. At Tourcoin and at Fleurus the same thing occurred; indeed, it may be said of this General, that he was rarely, if ever, effectually defeated; but that he commonly gave up the battle-field, and seldom obtained any advantage from victory. He for ever lost the moment of action in deliberation; either he could not determine the moment to strike, or he was badly served by his officers in collecting his forces at the right

time, so that he did not move his army for the protection of Ypres and Charleroi until the day after those places had both surrendered. He adhered with pertinacity to the methodical school of war of the time, making elaborate combinations, calculated to a hair's breadth, to make an attack with many columns on the enemy's line. But this is scarcely a fault to be attributed to the Prince, since it was equally adopted by those who preceded him as by those who succeeded him in the command of the Imperial armies. It is, however, but justice to this distinguished commander to state, that although his successes were not all they might have been, he never brought any army that he commanded into any disaster whatever; which could not be said of his opponent Dumouriez, nor of his lieutenant Clairfait, nor of Frederick, nor of Napoleon. He certainly was not the leader qualified to contend with the young blood of the Republic, which infused a freshened action into strategy as well as into government.

Clairfait succeeded to the Prince of Coburg's command on the 28th of August, having under him General Beaulieu for chef-d'état-major. He found the Imperial army extended with its right on Ruremonde and Maestricht, and his left on the Ardennes. General Jourdain's army, opposed to the Austrians, was cantoned in quarters behind the Meuse, quietly adding to its numbers which had now swelled to the enormous amount of 116,000 combatants, well provisioned, and provided with an ample supply of "munitions de guerre et de bouche."

## 29. WAR ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—FRENCH BESIEGE TREVES.

The Committee of Public Safety had, as we have seen, reinforced their army of the Rhine from that of the Alps; another reinforcement had been also ordered to the banks of the Sarre from La Vendée; and thus in and about the Vosges, between the rivers Sarre and Rhine, a force of 114,000 men was assembled in the month of June. The allies, if they still merited the appellation, were thus posted: the Saxons at Zweibrücken; the Prussians under Kalkreuth were watching the Sarre; Moellendorf covered Kaiserslautern; the Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen was on the eastern slope of the mountains communicating with the two divisions of Austrians under Wartensleben and Benjowski, in the valley of the Rhine. General Michaud commanding it now received orders to chase the Germans out of the Palatinate, and for the purpose of devising the best method of doing so, he summoned a council of war to be held at Landau on the 20th of June. The result of this was, that on the 2nd of July the army was put in motion on both sides of the mountains towards the Sarre; Kalkreuth was to be attacked in the centre, at Kaiserslautern; Moellendorf was to be driven from both sides of the summit; General St. Cyr was to observe the Prince of Hohenlohe at the foot of the gorges and ravines; and Desaix was to fall on Wartensleben between the chaussée to Spire and the river.

Desaix marched on the enemy in three columns. General Vassot had orders to advance to his front on Schweinsheim or Schweinsberg.

heim, while Frimont and Rivaud with twenty squadrons were to dash along the right and turn the left wing of the Imperialists. These last had already overturned the advanced posts of Karaczay, when a panic seized the French cavalry attacked by the Prussian General de Courbiere, and Wartensleben opening upon them a smart fire of grape, they retreated in disorder, their infantry likewise falling back upon the advance against them of the brigades of Blucher and the Prince of Baden on their left. The French column led by General Beyssac carried the post of Freischbach, and drove back the Prussians to Gomersheim, but the Prince of Hohenlohe came to the rescue with fifteen squadrons, three battalions of infantry, and twelve guns, and soon obliged the French to fall back among the vineyards of Weingarten. General St. Cyr had no better success, and General Ambert, who commanded the attack on the left, was contented to fall back into his own position after a smart cannonade. In this expedition the French lost 1000 men and gained no sort of advantage.

As soon as this failure was communicated to Paris fresh instructions were sent from Carnot, to direct that the attack should be made against the high and dominant region of the Vosges, so as to isolate the two armies of the enemy, who were endeavouring to act on lines separated by the mountain chain. On the 13th of July General Taponier was accordingly advanced upon Tripstadt, against General Ruchel; and General Renaud attacked and drove back General Kalkreuth on Landstuhl: on this, Moellendorf ordered both divisions engaged to fall back on the Kayserberg. On the 14th of July the Platzberg, which is the highest point of the ranges and strongly fortified by the Prussians, was attacked by the brigades of Siscoé, Desgranges, and Sibaud: the latter had some difficulty in possessing himself of the elevation called the Saukopf, and the Kesselberg was very gallantly defended by Major Borck. The Schöngel is one of the highest points of the Vosges, and considered the key of the Prussian division. The republicans climbed this ascent, on which they stormed the castle of Modenbach, and then descending into the valley came on some intrenchments defended by three battalions of Prussian grenadiers under General Pfau, which they stormed and carried. The Prince of Hohenlohe sent up General Schladen with two battalions, who arrived too late and quite out of breath, but endeavoured to turn the tide, which had attained its climax with the death of the General, when after a murderous contest, the division was almost destroyed and only enabled to reach Neustadt with difficulty, and with the loss of nine guns and a great number of killed and wounded.

This reverse excited great consternation among the allied troops. The Prince of Hohenlohe in the plain opposed resolutely the attacks of St. Cyr, but was forced to retreat, since he could obtain no assistance from the Austrians on his right, who in reply to all his solicitations sent him but a single regiment. St. Cyr found a resolute opponent in the village of Edesheim, the subsequently renowned Blucher, who defended it with four battalions and ten squadrons, he



himself charging at the head of the latter, and taking an entire battery from the General Laboissiere, who defended it, and who was himself made prisoner.

Dessaix, who had been too demonstrative on the former attack, was content on this occasion to occupy the attention of the Duke of Saxe-Teschén by a cannonade, and by a successful repulse of the brigade of Karaczay from Freimersheim; but ignorant of what was passing on his left, he contented himself with keeping the combat alive until darkness closed this glorious affair at nine o'clock.

The Prince of Hohenlohe retired from Mushbach in the night, and thus uncovered the right of the Prussians, who, finding themselves abandoned, crossed the bridge at Manheim, leaving only General Kospoth for the defence of the *îlot de pont*: but, nevertheless, the Prussians still showed a good front, and neither Dessaix nor St. Cyr ventured to push them till the 16th, when Marshal Moellendorf saw the necessity of retiring by a night march from the Kayserberg, upon Kirchheim, and sent orders to Count Kalkreuth and Prince Hohenlohe to fall back on Worms, and take up the position on the Rehback that they had held at the beginning of the campaign. The loss to the allies in these affairs was put at 2400 Prussians and 500 Austrians.

It was determined at Paris, in the general plan that had been drawn up for the expulsion of the allies across the Rhine, that the army of the Moselle should be strengthened in order to move as soon as the Prussians should be driven from the Palatinate. This army, now consisting of 24,000 men under General Moreaux (not Moreau of greater celebrity), advanced on the 7th of August against Treves, where six Prussian battalions under General Blankerstein defended the approach. These were soon overcome, and on the 9th, after a slight resistance, General Ambert carried the bridge of Wasserbilich and entered the city. The Prussians lost a few men, but carried off a detachment of French emigrants with them, which gave a pretext to the republicans to raise a heavy contribution, justified on the score of the French money which these unfortunate exiles had spent in the town.

In order to make the required diversion upon Treves, Moreaux had been under the necessity of withdrawing considerable forces out of the Vosges, and Moellendorf determined on an attack upon Lautern in their absence. The Austrian General Benjowski was brought across the Rhine at Worms, to enable the Prussians to carry their whole force into the mountains. A strong advanced guard under General Voss pushed to the Schorlenberg on the 17th of September, and Blucher followed after him in two columns upon Leiningen and Leystadt. The French were surprised in the middle of the night and driven across the summit upon Alsenborn. Michaud and Dessaix bravely rallied their forces on the 19th, to repel the attack upon a position that extended from Landstuhl to the Spire. The Prince of Hohenlohe marched to turn the left by Munchweiler, and forced back the division of Meynier, who, without artillery, kept up a deadly combat with small arms until he found

a column of twenty squadrons moving on his ranks. Meynier with the brigade of Prudhon still defended Landstuhl: but a cry of *saute qui peut* sent the republicans to the right-about, and they fled in all directions. Prince Louis of Prussia with the cavalry of Karaczay attacked Sibaud, who had advanced to retake Alsenborn, and cut him to pieces, the fugitives flying away as fast as they could to Tripstadt. Blucher coming up from Morlautern fell upon the brigade of Cavrois, sent up by Meynier to stop him; but finding it impossible to do this, the French General ordered them to retreat, which exposed to the Prussian attack three battalions which the Adjutant-General Jordy had established at the farm at Esselfurth. These brave fellows immediately formed in square and repelled several charges made against them by the Austrian and Prussian cavalry under Wolfradt and Blucher, but were in the end forced to lay down their arms; and Blucher following up Cavrois, took or dispersed the whole of his brigade. The French lost 4000 men in these encounters between the 17th and 20th, but with the remnant of the division were once again collected near Pirmasens on the 1st of October.

Marshal Clairfait was alarmed at the apparition of the enemy in the rear of his left at Treves, and detached General Nauendorf in observation of Moreaux, who on the other hand was strengthened by an additional division from the Ardennes, under General Lebrun, for the Committee of General Safety apprehended with reason the danger of this isolated position between the two armies of their opponents: nevertheless, for two months this corps of Moreaux, with 35,000 French, remained undisturbed at Treves, while Clairfait's army counted 60,000 men on the one hand and the Austro-Prussians 65,000 on the other.

### 30. WAR IN HOLLAND.

The inaction of the armies on both sides for so long a period of the summer afforded matter for wonder; but the French were, during that period, occupied in relieving their country from the presence of invaders, by the recovery of the strong places in their possession. That the allies with 130,000 combatants should have literally allowed the season to pass without any initiation or offensive movement whatever, was such a demonstration as 'only to be explained by the "Deus vult perdere." The Imperialists, indeed, occupied themselves in intrenching their position, but, as usual, the British even neglected to do this, considering their camp at Rosendaal was merely "un camp de pavage," or a summer ley, as we may describe it in English. The success of the republicans at Treves, however, put Pichegru in motion on the 26th of August, when a detachment of all arms advanced against the Dutch advanced posts, which occasioned considerable alarm at Breda, which fortress expected forthwith to be summoned.

Moreau, as soon as he had made himself master of Nieuport, was urged by the representatives Lacoste and Richaud to attempt the capture of Sluys. This fort, called by the French L'Ecluse, is

so placed as to make it a necessary preliminary to obtaining possession of the island of Cadsand, separated from the main by a dike not very deep, but too wide to bridge. Here was a Dutch corps strongly intrenched to defend the island, but the republicans under General Laurent, partly fording and partly swimming, got footing on the island on the 28th, in face of a gallant defence, and took some hundred prisoners and ninety guns, and immediately summoned the fortress of Sluys. General Vanderdurm replied laconically, "Je me défendrai," and the siege was forthwith commenced. It required all the firmness of the civil commissaries to keep the republican soldiers to their work amidst pouring rain, deep inundations, universal sickness, and a smart defence; but on the 25th of August L'Ecluse surrendered, and the division of General Moreau, which had greatly distinguished themselves in the attack, returned to join the army of General Pichegru.

### 31. FIGHT AT BOXTEL.—WELLINGTON FIRST UNDER FIRE.

General Pichegru put his troops in motion on the 4th of September, but not deeming himself sufficiently well informed of his enemy's position, he determined to feel his way circumspectly. On the 9th he drove in the Dutch outposts at Helvost, and made demonstrations against the whole line of the combined armies. In the afternoon of the 14th he attacked and carried the post of Bortel, defended by General During with two Hessian battalions in a strong position behind the Doemel, over which they had destroyed all the bridges. The republicans, however, overcame every obstacle; some swam, and some on boards crossed the river, exposed to a murderous fire of grape and musketry. A body of cavalry succeeded in finding a ford, and came up rapidly from St. Michel-Gestel, on the flank of the Hessians, who finding themselves turned, endeavoured to retreat, but a colonel and 300 men were forced to surrender, with two pieces of artillery. The Duke of York, on hearing of this repulse, ordered General Abercrombie to move forward in the night with the army of the reserve, consisting of the brigade of guards, the 12th, 33rd, 42nd, and 44th regiments, and some squadrons of cavalry, together with a brigade of guns; but General Hammerstein, who commanded the whole of the advanced posts, had already judged it necessary to withdraw them, after the affair of the previous day, and accordingly when Abercrombie reached the vicinity of Bortel, he found himself, as soon as day broke, in the midst of a French garrison and half a league from the village: he immediately showed fight with a view of getting away, for having only had orders to reconnoitre the enemy, he did not think it prudent to compromise his division against numbers, but immediately put them in motion, leaving to General Burrard to cover his retreat on Midero.

The night attack on Bortel has an interest to the British which requires a more detailed notice. Our illustrious Wellington was on that occasion first engaged with the enemy. The next day then Lieutenant-Colonel Wesley, commanding the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, On

clearing the village of Schyndel, in the grey of the morning, the mounted pickets of the enemy were first discovered. The English dragoons immediately advanced to drive them in, supported by the brigade of guards with the 33rd and 44th. As these boldly advanced, a formidable fire of artillery (which had been masked by a fir wood) opened upon them, which betrayed the presence of a numerous force; the troops were accordingly ordered to fall back. In the retreat the cavalry got mobbed in a lane with one of the household battalions, and the republicans observing it lanced forward a regiment of hussars. Perceiving the disorder, Colonel Wesley deployed the 33rd into line on the plain, immediately in front of the household troops. Opening his centre files, he permitted the broken troops to pass through, and then re-forming awaited the French attack. The 33rd reserving its fire, coolly stood until the enemy approached, and then delivered a close and searching volley that told with murderous effect on the crowded ranks of the republicans, who fell back in confusion, and the further retreat of the English was effected without any molestation. On the same day the Duke of York gave orders to break up the camp and retire behind the Meuse. The guns and heavy baggage were directed to move on Grau, where they passed the river on bridges already constructed there; the reserve and light cavalry protected the retreat, which was successfully effected without any interruption from the republicans, and the Duke of York placed his head-quarters in the midst of the English troops at Wichem; the Hessians being posted at Nystervick, opposite Ravenstein, to keep up the communication with the Prince of Orange. Pichegru was vehemently accused of treason, in thus permitting the English army to escape without molestation, but the country about the Dommel, the Aa, and the Meuse is so difficult, that the French columns got bewildered amongst the dikes and inundations, and it was only on the 18th that they could come up and encamp behind the Aa at Dinter.

### 32. BATTLE OF THE ROER—AUSTRIANS CROSS THE RHINE.

Marshal Clairfait had cantoned the Imperial army between Remondé and Sprimont, leaving General Kray on the other side of the Meuse, covering the fortified place of Maestricht; Latour commanded the left wing, which rested on the Ourthe and Ayvalle. General Werneck, on the other flank, occupied Stockem and Sittard, on either side of the river; and the centre was in a camp at La Chartreuse, on the Robermont, opposite Liege. As soon as General Scherer had retaken the fortresses, he was ordered up to join Jourdain's army, and on the 14th of September brought 20,000 men to Huy, where he united himself with the divisions of Marceau, Hacquin, and Mayer; and the French army now rested with its left under Klobér, near Maestricht, observing the corps of Kray; the centre at Tongres, with Lefebvre on the Meuse at Haccour, and the right, under Scherer, with forty-eight battalions and twenty squadrons, now at once crossed the Ourthe, and sat down on the left bank of the Ayvalle. The French General-in-Chief immediately

reconnoitred the Austrian position, which he found rested on some scarped heights above the Ayvaille, garnished with a formidable artillery, and defended by some twelve battalions and a reserve of 7000 or 8000 foot and 3000 horse at Sprimont, while another brigade on their right observed the passages of the Lower Ourthe.

On the 18th of September, at daybreak, the French advanced in five columns, led by Scherer, crossed the Ayvaille at Esneux, and attacked the defiles of Halleux and Sougnéz, while at the same time the rest of the army threatened the centre and right of the Austrian position on the opposite bank of the Meuse, over which river Legrand crossed and moved up to Clermont. The intention was to crush the left of the Imperial army under Latour, at Sprimont, while Kleber made strong demonstrations against Werneck on the right, near Stockem, and pushed Kray under the cannon of Maestricht. Nothing could better advance the designs of Jourdain than the readiness of Clairfait to strengthen these distant posts by sending them reinforcements, as it left the Austrian left, under Latour, at his mercy. General Marceau accordingly marched on Halleux and crossed the Ourthe, despite of General Otto, and General Lilien gave way before the division of Mayer, at the village of Ayvaille. Latour, instead of falling on the heads of the columns as they passed the Ourthe, allowed Marceau and Mayer to form and deploy upon the plateau of Sprimont, when these troops immediately dashed forward to attack his front; while General Hacquin, who had with difficulty got up to Sougnéz, now appeared on the left flank of the Imperialists. General Bonnet, who had crossed at Esneux, was also at this time threatening their right. These attacks, all well combined, obliged the Austrian General to beat a retreat after four hours' sharp fighting. Scherer, immediately he perceived his enemy giving way, instead of pursuing, inclined his march to the left towards the junction of the Ourthe and the Vesder, in order to drive the retiring columns on Verviers, and cut them off from rallying round the camp on Robermont. The Austrians lost 1200 or 1500 men in this engagement, together with thirty-six guns. Marshal Clairfait, as soon as he learned that Latour was falling back, ordered the evacuation of the camp at La Chartreuse on Robermont. Legrand met the troops in their retreat at Clermont on the 20th, and supported by Hatry and Championnet, attacked them on the march, and the whole Austrian army retired on Gulpen and Aix-la-Chapelle, and took up a position behind the Worm, with the left on Cornelis-Munster and the right on Rolduc.

Jourdain instantly sent his forces in pursuit; Scherer with the right wing advanced by Verviers and Limburg on Cornelis-Munster. The French centre moved on Aix-la-Chapelle, which it entered on the 22nd, and their right under Lefebvre on Rolduc, when the Austrians relinquished the position they had assumed, and took up another behind the Roer from Ruremonde to Düren, having its centre at Aldenhoven, near to the fortified place of Juliers. This position was partially intrenched, but was naturally strong to those who possessed the commanding right bank of the river, and

the river, though not broad, was rapid and not generally fordable. Carnot had directed the General-in-Chief to sit down before Maes-tricht, and undertake the siege of it, but Jourdain ventured to act on his own judgment, which was to defer the siege of that place till he had driven the Austrians across the Rhine, and he now resolved to attempt this, and in consequence called up Kleber with the investing army in order to force the position of the Roer. Having now united his forces on the bank opposite to that occupied by the Austrians, he divided his army into four corps, that on the right, under General Scherer, opposite Dueren; that of Kleber on the left at Heinsberg; Lefebvre on the left centre was at Linnich, and Jourdain himself took the central command with the divisions of Hatry, Marlot, Championnet, and the cavalry under General Dubois, near Aldenhoven. Each General was directed to act for himself, and to pay no attention to what might happen to the other divisions right or left of him.

On the 2nd of October, at five in the morning, the republican troops were put in movement in close columns of brigades. A thick fog delayed the advance however till ten o'clock, when 100,000 men manœuvred with all the precision of a field day in their advance against the enemy. Hacquin, commanding the extreme right of Scherer's corps, crossed the Roer near Winden, and was obliged to make a considerable circuit to outflank the Austrian left wing, which required a great deal of time. Awaiting this movement, Mayer remained inactive at the ford of Lindersdorff till near three o'clock, when Scherer, impatient at the delay, sent him across the river. Marceau at the same time discovered a ford and crossed at Mirveiler, when he found that General Lorges was kept in check by the Austrian batteries at Dueren, and hastened up to his assistance. It was about five o'clock when these three divisions, forming the principal part of Scherer's corps, established themselves across the river in the neighbourhood of Dueren, notwithstanding all the exertions of Latour, who had sixty guns still in position. There the republicans remained, pounded by the enemy's grape, but unable to advance; awaiting the success of Hacquin's movement, they endured the fire with wonderful constancy until about seven o'clock, when at length his division having reached Binsfelt, completely in rear of Latour's left flank, had the effect of forcing the Austrian division to withdraw on Kerpen.

In the centre General Championnet advanced against the Austrians in Aldenhoven, and carried the village, forcing the plateau which looked down on Juliers; but the enemy had deployed all his cavalry on these heights, a portion of which charged the division of Marlot, which would have been destroyed but for the opportune arrival of two squadrons of chasseurs under Hautpoult. Marlot was now ordered to incline to his left to seek a ford between Coslar and Broich, but not being able to find one, he went on until he joined Lefebvre at Linnich, driving the Austrians under Kray out of the place; but these had not only destroyed the bridge over the Roer at Linnich, but had set fire to the town, which it took the whole night to pass through, so

that Lefebre's troops did not get across the river till the next morning. Kleber, with two divisions under General Bernadotte and Ney, found himself exposed to a murderous fire in his endeavour to get across to Rathem, but at length succeeded in establishing a battery, which told upon the Austrian batteries opposite, and in the end silenced them; but all the endeavours of this General to establish a bridge failed; accordingly, in their impatient ardour, the republican soldiers threw themselves into the stream, swam across, and fell at the point of the bayonet upon the intrenchments with such energy that they carried, and fairly drove the Austrians out of them. General Clairfait, hampered in the intervening wood of Hambach, which prevented his sending some assistance from his centre, and finding his left wing to have been turned, resolved on abandoning the position as well as the strong place of Juliers, and at once to repass the Rhine with his whole army. The loss of the French in this engagement was put at 1800 men, and that of the Imperialists at 3000 *hors de combat*.

The night that followed the battle was passed in tranquillity, and under the obscurity of a thick fog, nevertheless both sides were stirring in the early morn; the French were busy in constructing bridges across the Roer, and the Austrians in desfilng to the rear. As soon as the General-in-Chief was instructed as to the movements of the enemy, he ordered Lefebre and Dubois with all the cavalry to follow them, and press them as much as possible on their line of retreat on Cologne. In the course of the 3rd the latter came up with the enemy, and got amongst their baggage, but the Austrian cavalry advanced to its rescue, and had several serious affairs in the course of the day, the results of which were very much balanced. Championnet and Bernadotte's divisions also pressed on in pursuit, drove the Imperialists across the Erft, and on the 5th across the Rhine at Mulheim and Cologne. The French entered the latter city on the 6th, and on the 20th the left banks of the Rhine as far as Bonn were occupied by the republican army.

Kleber was ordered to return and undertake immediately the siege of Maestricht. By the 23rd the exertions of the representatives of the people had got together 200 guns, and the fire from these made such havoc of the town and works, that the Prince Frederick of Hesse, in command, seeing no prospect of succour, surrendered upon terms with a garrison of 8000 men. Mayence and Luxemburg now alone remained to the allies on the left bank of the Rhine, for Marceau drove the Austrians out of Coblentz on the 25th, and already communicated with the French division of General Moreaux at Treves.

### 33. THE DUKE OF YORK DRIVEN ACROSS THE MEUSE—COMBAT AT BOMMEL.

Whilst these things were in progress, Pichegru with the army of the North invested Herzogenbosch or Bois-le-Duc, on the 23rd of September. This place was exceedingly well fortified in itself, and surrounded by works of considerable strength, while the whole circuit could at pleasure be inundated, so as to make it one vast

island. The French learned that the fort d'Orten, on the line between the town and fort Crevecoeur, was only occupied by a corporal and five men, who were employed in dismantling it, prior to its intended abandonment: they at once stormed and took possession of it. This post not only exposed the town, but cut off the communication by road between Boia-le-Duc and Crevecoeur, situated on the confluence of the Meuse and Waal, opposite the isle of Bommel. The possession of this place was deemed of great importance, as it commanded the key of the inundations, which, as has been said, nearly surrounded it, excepting on one dike to the east, to the top of which the waters did not reach. General Delmas, who commanded a corps of 10,000 men in observation on this side, moved along this dike and suddenly opened his field artillery, and sent forward some musketeers to the glacis of the fort, which caused such alarm that the Governor Thoel disgracefully surrendered Crevecoeur on the 29th with a garrison of 600 men. The same day the French also got possession of the fort St. André on the isle of Bommel, with a company of grenadiers. At this season the waters were naturally so much out upon the country, that the possession of the sluices was not found of so much advantage as was expected, and the French engineers were accordingly much restrained in the further operations of the siege by the difficulty of finding patches of dry land above them on which to establish batteries. The works were, nevertheless, pushed forward with great activity; on the 28th two batteries, one of 8-pounders and one of mortars, opened against the town; on the following day three more batteries were ready, and the fire was so well directed, that not only were many lives lost, but many pieces dismantled upon the ramparts. On the 5th of October the Dutch garrison made a sortie, which was encountered by their own countryman, General Daendels, in command of the enemy's troops, and after a stubborn contest, in which a French engineer officer was killed, ended with inflicting about an equal loss on both sides. The several attacks of the besiegers progressed together, but the Governor, the Prince of Hesse, while his garrison was still alert and active, having an especial fear of shells, shut himself up in a casemate which he had overlaid with dung, demanded terms, and surrendered the place on the 10th of October.

But the operations of the army of the Sambre and Meuse already began to tell on the Duke of York's proceedings. Uneasy at what was there occurring, his Royal Highness could make no single effort to disquiet the besiegers, and as soon as he learned of the retreat of the Imperialists across the Rhine, he regarded his own position behind the Meuse no longer tenable; for Moreau had already advanced his division across the river and invested Venloo. His Royal Highness indeed had sent Count Walmoden and General Abercrombie with a considerable corps for the purpose of giving strength to the right flank of the Imperial army, but he now withdrew them to Gennep in all haste, and gave orders to his whole army to withdraw behind the Waal, placing his head-quarters at Nimeguen. On the 4th of October he also called in all his outposts excepting the



87th regiment, which he left with the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom. Hulst, Axel, Philippine, and Sas de Gand were given up to General Michaud without terms by the 23rd of October.

The sudden retreat of the Duke of York's army endangered the Dutch army's communication with Grave, which had not even been provisioned, and the Prince of Orange sent earnest representations to his Royal Highness to request him to delay in his retreat, in order that he might put Grave *à l'abri* of being taken at the first summons. Accordingly Walmoden and Abercrombie were halted at Cranenburg, and desired to take up their ground to form the left of the army between the Meuse and Rhine between Gennep and Emmerich. The Bommeler-Waart on the right was placed under the command of General Hanstein, who by the means of Balfour's brigade of English, who joined them from the island of Zealand, had fortunately again got possession of the fort St. André.

Even while the siege of Bois-le-Duc continued Pichegru had sent Bonneau's division to invest Grave, but for this purpose it was necessary that he should cross the Meuse; he accordingly selected a spot below the fortress, and seizing the advantage of the long nights and thick fogs of the season, he silently occupied himself in forming bridges, so that on the 18th—19th he carried his main army across the Meuse at Tefelen, on bridges constructed of Dutch boats and pontoons. The Duke offered no opposition to the French General, for he was looking to a reinforcement of Austrians on that flank, and had established his army in an intrenched camp before Nimeguen, where he was resolved to stop the further advance of the enemy across the Waal; but his Royal Highness occupied a far too extended position, having its right on the Waal at Druyten and Deest, and the left on the Meuse at Appeltern. As soon as the Duke found the French in motion, he ordered Lieutenant General Abercrombie from his left to take the command of the troops in the Bommeler-Waart on his right. This General arrived at his post just as the French were advancing on fort St. André, and in the attack of that fortress was slightly wounded in the arm. Here he took the command of the brigade of guards under Lake (who were stationed at Tiel), of an English brigade under Lord Cathcart, and of several battalions of British and Hessians who were in garrison at Bommel, Gorcum, and fort St. André.

With a boldness very nearly approaching to rashness Pichegru resolved to dash his army between Abercrombie and Hammerstein's divisions. He had observed that the intrenchments here thrown up (for the enemy had carefully taken advantage of every dike and of the canal of Onde-Watering to cover them with works, while every bridge leading across formed a labyrinth not easily threaded) had not troops sufficient for such an elaborate system of defence, while the same natural obstacles that were intended for defence prevented any danger accruing from any attack from the British troops stationed in the Bommeler-Waart; these were, however, to be watched by General Delmas, with one division, while Souham and Bonnard

were to approach Tefelen to execute the intended operation. At daybreak on the 19th of October General Souham advanced to attack Oude-Watering in four columns of about 3000 men each: one advancing along the banks of the Meuse, and another on those of the Waal, while the two centre columns at once led to the attack of the bridges across the canal. The allied troops showed every disposition to defend them, but after some discharges from the batteries, the republicans rushed into the water up to their armpits, protected by a heavy fire of musketry from the bank, and with an air of boldness that threw the defenders into confusion; while the sudden apparition of the 5th regiment of French "chasseurs à cheval" on the top of the dike completed the rout, and the allies fell back in haste, only just saving their artillery. The column advancing along the bank of the Waal to Afferden, by this means turned the left wing of the 37th English regiment at Druyten: General Fox, who commanded at this post, immediately ordered his men to retire along the embankment of the river, but in their march they permitted a detachment of the French hussars (whom they mistook by a resemblance of uniform for a German regiment called the hussars of Rohan) to come upon them where they had no space to form, by which means the entire regiment, with the exception of Major Hope, who commanded, and one other officer with about eighty men, were cut to pieces; and one colour and some field artillery fell into the enemy's hands. General Fox was himself at one moment captured by a French hussar, but he contrived to disembarass himself of his enemy, and by dint of a good horse escaped. The emigrant legion "de la Châtre," posted at Nystervick, with the 55th British regiment, were also driven back at the dike of Appeltern, with the loss of 300 men. Upon this General Hammerstein withdrew his division within the intrenched camp at Nimeguen, where he joined General Walmoden, who was established there with twenty battalions of British and Hanoverians, while Pichegru immediately sat down to form the siege of Grave, in his front, and the Duke of York on the 21st withdrew his headquarters to Arnheim, on the Rhine, and put the rest of his troops into cantonment between the Lech and the Waal, a Hessian detachment being alone left in the Bommeler-Waart, and Dundas's brigade of cavalry at Tiel, to keep up a communication with them and with the Dutch army at Gorcum, on the right. The left wing, which was now under the command of Harcourt, had pushed forward some dragoons across the Rhine at Enmerich, to keep up the communication with the Austrian General Kerpen, but they were now withdrawn to Doornenburg.

On the 22nd the Duke of York had a conference with the Imperialist Commander Clairfait, at Nimeguen, who consented to send a corps of Austrians to strengthen the left flank of the allied army: and on the 25th the Stadtholder saw the Duke at Arnheim, when it was agreed between them that the Dutch troops should be withdrawn from the camp at Nimeguen, and they were in consequence marched away to occupy the fort of Grebb, on the right bank of the Lech,

where the sluices were established, that they might be enabled if necessary to cover the province of Utrecht with an inundation.

On the 27th the republicans still further advanced towards Tiel, and threw some shells into it; and on the 28th they brought forward some of their outposts towards the camp at Nimeguen, which resulted in some skirmishing with the garrison, but on the 27th Pichegru made a combined attack both on fort St. André and Nimeguen. He found, however, a warm reception from the gun-boats that Abercrombie had brought forward for the protection of the former, and although the enemy eventually succeeded in driving in the outposts of the camp near the fortress, the British cavalry had an opportunity of charging them, and having unsaddled about thirty of them, drove them away.

### 34. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF VENLOO AND NIMEGUEN.

It has been already mentioned that General Moreau had invested Venloo; he had commenced to do so on the 8th of October, but it was the 25th before the bridges were finished that enabled him to complete the investment on both sides of the Meuse. At this time Pichegru having fallen sick, Moreau was ordered away to the command of the army of the North, and the siege of Venloo was therefore delegated to Generals Laurent and Poitever the engineer. The place was garrisoned with 1800 men and the ramparts mounted with 150 pieces of cannon. A false attack having been made against the fort St. Michel, the Governor availed himself of it to make a sortie, which drove the besiegers from their trenches and very nearly took General Laurent prisoner. The besieging attacks were directed against both faces that commanded the river up and down, and although their batteries were of light artillery, the Commandant was so much alarmed at the aspect of the attack, that after four days of open trenches, he entered into negotiation on the first summons, and gave up the place on the 26th, on terms that already rather savoured of a desire in the French to please the Dutch.

This left 6000 or 7000 men at liberty to be employed against Nimeguen, before which Moreau at once sat down. The affair of outposts on the 27th, as above related, was a reconnaissance made by the General-in-Chief and the engineer, Dejean, against this place. It would have been necessary, in order to invest the place completely, to cross the Waal, but this would have been a hazardous attempt in the face of the allied army; but otherwise by means of the bridges across the Waal and the Lech, the Duke could communicate as he pleased with the garrison. Moreau, therefore, determined to impose upon the enemy by advancing against Walmoden in the intrenched camp that covered Nimeguen. The brigade of General Compère accordingly moved up from Krauenbourg and rested his right upon the Waal. General Souham, having under him the three brigades of Jourdain, Macdonald, and Dewinter, formed the centre between Beech and Nerbos. Bonneau's division was at Hees, and Delmas closed the half-circle with his left on the river at

**Worms.** Some fighting took place in taking up this position, but it was of no ulterior importance.

The allied Generals felt the importance of saving Nimeguen, and General Clairfait again came to Arnheim to have a conference with the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, and General Walmoden, on the subject. The Dutch undertook the defence of the Bommeler-Waart, and the Imperialist General promised to send a detachment of 10,000 men under General Werneck, to act upon the right flank of the besiegers; but as they could not have come into line before the 7th, it was resolved that the Austrians should cross the Rhine near Wesel, and advance in the rear of the republicans, to prevent the enemy from collecting magazines in the Duchy of Cleves.

In the mean time the French had opened a trench on the 1st and 2nd of November, and now threatened Nimeguen with a bombardment. Four batteries were established to bear on the flying bridge across the river, and a house called Gloriette was captured and recaptured after sharp fighting. The Duke determined on making a sortie on the night of the 3rd-4th. The Hanoverian sharpshooters sallied by one of the gates against the French camp, while a Dutch battalion and the 8th British regiment marched out by the gate of Cleves. The principal body, under the command of General de Burgh, consisting of the 27th, 28th, 55th, 63rd, and 78th British regiments, supported by two squadrons of the 15th light dragoons and six squadrons of Hanoverians, went right at the intrenchments and batteries of the French, from whence they effectually cleared the enemy at the point of the bayonet. The 55th regiment, under the distinguished Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, got possession of the battery on the right attack, and the cavalry turned the boyaux of the parallel; but the fatigue party did not do their work well, and were recalled before they had effected much injury to the works. The French, therefore, having retired to their lines, soon came back and repaired the injury done, and on the 6th their batteries were again established and opened. A sortie of this kind without end or object is an useless butchery; if it had been supported by a vigorous attack from some three or four battalions, it might have had an effect upon the fate of the siege, but a handful of a few hundred men, though they may possibly retard the works, yet can do no amount of mischief that is not easily reparable.

The batteries of the besiegers had already begun to tell upon the flying bridge, and sunk one or two of the boats; and on the 7th Souham, who had the direction of the siege under the General-in-Chief, got possession of one of the advanced works. The Duke accordingly resolved to quit Nimeguen, and leave only a Dutch garrison of 3000 men, under General Haach, there, and to withdraw all the British and Hanoverian troops out of the town, excepting some British pickets: the bridge was therefore repaired, and all the artillery and allied troops marched out. The besiegers were apprised by their friends in the town of this intended evacuation, and in consequence redoubled their fire upon it to increase the discontent, causing many conflagrations in the town. The Stadtholder had

given permission to General Haach to withdraw altogether whenever he should deem it advisable, and the same night, therefore, after nailing the guns, the Commandant began to move off his garrison; but in a short time great confusion commenced, and the regiment of Bentinck, when actually upon the bridge of boats, was cut loose and drifted on a bank, from whence they were all made prisoners. The 15th British light dragoons, who were in company, had the utmost difficulty to pass their horses across the long undulating planks of the bridge, partly under water, but succeeded in doing so by blindfolding their horses, and so crossed and escaped. Colonel Balnearis with the regiment of Stuart, which formed the rearguard, was however compromised and obliged to capitulate.

### 35. THE BRITISH ARMY RETIRE BEHIND THE RHINE, AND THE DUKE OF YORK RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

Whilst these events were occurring at Nimeguen, the Imperialist corps of General Werneck, according to the agreement made with Clairfait, crossed the Rhine at Buderik, near Wesel, and began to intrench themselves. On the 9th Vandamme appeared against them at the head of a division of Marceau's army; the intrenchments were not completed when the attack commenced. The Austrians sustained the attack with much valour till nightfall, but the General, finding the enemy too strong for him, determined in the night to recross the Rhine, and having quietly withdrawn all their artillery, they got safe across before morning, and broke their bridge.

The Rhine now flowed along its whole course between the French Republic and her enemies: for Bergen-op-Zoom, Grave, and Breda, were all invested; and Rheinfels and St. Goes had already surrendered to her armies the first days of November. The French have ever loved to call the Rhine the natural boundary of France; but, excepting as an object of cupidity, and to feed an unholy appetite of ambition, it can never be properly called so. Rivers are never natural boundaries of nations; for at first they are the only natural highways that exist for intercourse, and both banks are ever inhabited by people having common sympathies and union. Mountains are the only natural boundaries of races, for they are obstacles to intercourse, and of necessity divide them. This obvious truth does not appear to have yet reached the ears of statesmen, who strive to lay down boundaries by degrees of latitude, or by rivers, when the principle of a mountain boundary may always be obtained even in the lowest elevations, by assuming the natural flow of the waters as the principle of separation.

It is impossible to refuse our admiration of the energy and military virtues of the French armies at this epoch. Seven months of constant service in bivouacs and movements had destroyed their clothing and carried them through rags and nakedness to fatigue and unheard-of privations, that had reduced them to a state that urgently demanded repose. On the 20th of November the frost set in sharp, and the discomforts of living, under such conditions, in the midst of half-frozen swamps and inundations, and under an impenetrable

sky, would have deterred any other rulers from requiring further services at their hands; but the Committee of Public Safety, hard men, encouraged by their successes, dreamed of nothing short of the conquest of Holland, where a strong republican party hostile to the Stadtholder was known to exist. The British Commander-in-Chief, depressed by his ill-fortune, looked to the setting in of the frost "as the best, nay, the only ally on which the army could depend," but his calculations were disappointed; the French, with their accustomed adroitness, did not lose an hour in availing themselves of the facilities this very incident of the season afforded them for invading the country; accustomed to find all difficulties vanish before republican energy, they resolved to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the winter, and to render its severity the means of overcoming the natural defences of the Dutch Provinces.

On the 2nd of December his Royal Highness the Duke of York, having been apprised that it was the intention to send out Lord Cornwallis to supersede him, left Arnheim for England, giving up the command of the British contingent to Lieut.-General Harcourt. This consisted at this period of thirty-two British battalions and thirty squadrons; of fourteen Hanoverian battalions and sixteen squadrons; of fourteen Hessian battalions and fourteen squadrons; and of eight battalions of French emigrants and twenty squadrons. His Royal Highness left to General Walmoden the perilous task of commanding the allied forces, and of protecting a divided people with an inferior, defeated, and dispirited army, numbering, of all denominations and nations, about 45,000 men. There was at the time a fever prevalent among the peasants of the country, which it was difficult to prevent extending to the soldiers, and the utter inattention at that time paid to the comfort of the soldiers appears to us, at this time, almost incredible. "Ah, poor fellow, we shall see thee no more, for thou art under orders for the shambles," was the dirge that accompanied a soldier to the hospital, where these unfortunate men were given up to the mercy of surgeons' mates, furnished on the cheapest contracts; scarcely any accommodations were prepared for the sick in the hospitals, where, so far from finding even a pallet, they could scarcely obtain a litter of straw. The Duke of York, at this early period of his military career, evinced that attention to the subject which eventually obtained him so much honour, and at this time issued to his army a general order directing a field officer to be appointed every week to the duty "of visiting the hospitals and observing whether the sick and wounded receive that unremitting care and attention their situation demands, and to report immediately any deficiency, neglect, or irregularity to the Commander-in-Chief." Frederick, Duke of York, had not, it must be confessed, the qualities requisite for a General commanding an army in the field, but his Royal Highness has scarcely had the full credit given him for the services he rendered to the allied arms in the campaigns from which he now retired. He evinced, thus early, and through life, the qualities of an excellent military administrator, and was never deficient either in boldness

or activity, but he was too easy of temper for the command of an army.

### 36. GENERAL DAENDELS CROSSES THE ICE, AND DRIVES BACK THE DUTCH.

At this time a bitter animosity reigned between the British and their Dutch allies, which had indeed increased to such a degree that a straggling Englishman became an object not only of ill-treatment, but of frequent assassination. They turned the more readily to their rivals. The States General, reflecting the feelings of the people, and with the accustomed short-sightedness of the Dutch in moments of danger to their country, sought to deprecate the hostility of their ruthless enemy by sending plenipotentiaries to Paris, to request that the governing powers would grant them such terms "as their known good faith and generosity should dictate." The Convention cajoled these petitioners with delusive promises, and at the same time sent orders to their generals to cross the Waal.

The commissaries with the army of the North had consulted on the subject of the proposed invasion of Holland by General Daendels, a Dutchman by birth, but a renegade who had been prosecuted by his country for the part he had taken in the revolution of 1787. He was an officer of merit, thoroughly well acquainted with the climate and the local peculiarities of his own country, and was so keen a partisan against it that he earnestly desired to be entrusted with the execution of his suggestions. Accordingly, he was given the command of the expedition to cross the Waal, and having collected together a great number of boats at Crevecoeur, and the materials for constructing bridges, he determined to make two secondary attempts; the one on Kokerdum, and the other on fort St. André, while his principal attack should be made against the Bommeler-Waart.

All things being ready, the troops were set in motion on the 10th of December from Kokerdum. General Vandamme, descending the Waal, landed under cover of a fog at Ghent, where he found a Hanoverian battery, which he attacked and took; but General de Bush coming up in support, it was retaken, but not till after some of the guns had been nailed were the French driven back by the bayonets of the 1st and 3rd Hanoverian grenadiers to their boats. In this conflict De Bush was killed, and Major Bachmeister mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The attack on fort St. André failed altogether. Informed by a spy of the intention of the enemy, the garrison was on its guard; they allowed the assailants to advance within pistol range, and then opened such a fire from batteries established on the strand, near Heel, that it drove them back to their boats, leaving half their number on the shore. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt received the principal attacks at the village of Heel, in the Bommeler-Waart, with such firmness, that the first assailants could make no impression, and those who followed lost heart. An immense raft came down the stream with the troops, but those who had disembarked hastened to get on it again, and

dels thought fit to report to General Moreau, who still commanded in chief, that his enterprise had failed, and accordingly the troops were ordered back to their positions.

The frost continued to increase in intensity. On the 24th of December the thermometer had fallen to 8°, and the canals and inundations became capable of bearing any weight of military traffic; quantities of ice came down the rivers and had already created an alarm in General Walmoden, lest they should be frozen over and impede the retreat of his army, which was increased when the bridge at Arnheim was carried away. Accordingly the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt was withdrawn from the Bommeler-Waart, and all the cavalry were ordered across the Waal, and the magazines and hospitals sent back from Arnheim to Deventer. Pichegru now returned, restored in health, to the command of the army of the North. He was apprised that the Isle of Bommel had been left to a weak garrison of the Dutch, who he expected would rely very much on the natural defences of the season, and therefore, on the 28th of December, the ice on the Meuse being now strong and capable of bearing any weight, he adopted the proposition of General Daendels anew, but entrusted the execution of it to General Delmas, with the brigades of Daendels and Osten, which advanced on the same day in three columns. The Dutch General in command of fort St. André, little dreaming of the possibility of the attempt, allowed himself to be so completely surprised, that the first intimation of this new adventure was an attack upon the outposts. The two columns that had crossed at Driel and Crevecoeur united with a third that had been pushed on unperceived directly on the fort itself, which put the Dutch troops on the island into such terror, that the battalions of Orange, Frise, Hohenlohe, and Debois, laid down their arms or fled to Heusden, where the main Dutch army was, near Gorcum, and the fort and the island were abandoned. The assailants pursued the fugitives across the Waal, which was a matter of some difficulty from the ice, which was not practicable to pass upon in all places, but was sufficient to render the navigation dangerous. General Constant endeavoured to rally them at Tuil to await the reinforcements that General Dalwig could have sent him from Buren, but he was carried away by the troops, and only succeeded in joining the Prince of Orange at Gorcum. The battalions of Salm and Palhuys, who were quartered on the west side of the island, got off with their field artillery, and found safety under the guns of Loevestein. The French in this encounter captured 1600 prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon.

On the same day the troops of General Bonneau and Le Maire forced the lines that covered Breda, and advanced on Oudenbosch and Zevenbergen, of which they took possession. The Dutch General Beetzelaar, without firing a shot, threw himself into Willemstadt, and General Hanck was obliged to capitulate at Ter-Heyde. The next morning, the 29th, Pichegru was further gratified by the surrender of Grave. Colonel Debous with his engineer, Major Gros, had endured a blockade of ten or twelve weeks and a bombardment



of three, but notwithstanding the surrender of Maestricht, Venloo, Nimeguen, &c., notwithstanding that he was deserted by his own troops and left without hope of success, this brave veteran resisted all the arts of General Salm to get obedience to a frequent summons to yield the place, and now capitulated with all the honours of war, receiving from his enemy the singular compliment of being promenaded in triumph by them round the works that he had so well defended. His garrison, who shared his glory, consisted of a Swiss regiment and four companies of that of Waldeck, amounting to 1500 men.

### 37. THE FRENCH DRIVEN BACK ACROSS THE WAAL.

The allied forces regarded this state of things with very different feelings amongst each other. The Prince of Orange feared an immediate march of the French on Amsterdam, and would listen to no further hostile proposition; but enjoined the Prince of Darmstadt to close in upon the Dutch army at Gorcuun, in order to be at hand to prevent this movement. The British troops, on the other hand, were indignant at the continued successes of the republican army, and urged and obtained the consent of General Walmoden to undertake an expedition for the recovery of the island of Bommel, or at all events to force the enemy back across the Waal. Major-General Sir David Dundas was charged with the conduct of this operation. Lord Cathcart with the 27th, 28th, 81th, and 80th regiments; Major-General Gordon with the 19th, 85th, 89th, and 54th regiments; Colonel Mackenzie with two battalions of guards and the corps of loyal emigrants; Sir Robert Laurie with six squadrons of light cavalry selected from the 7th, 15th, 11th, and 16th light dragoons; the Count de Wurmb with four battalions and four squadrons of Hessians, were told off to make the attack in three columns, on the 30th of December. Lord Cathcart with the left one, which was to have turned Tuil, was obliged to make such a detour, owing to the badness of the roads, that he did not reach the point of attack in sufficient time to act simultaneously with the other two. Sir David Dundas with the centre column made every preparation necessary for the attack of Waardenberg, but finding that place deserted by the enemy he pushed on to Tuil and overtook the Count de Wurmb with his Hessian column on the march. Here he found the French troops strongly posted, with an abattis in their front, and every approach defended by the guns taken from the Dutch the previous day. The troops marched, nevertheless, boldly to the attack, and the post and village were soon carried at the point of the bayonet. The republicans retired with all expedition across the icy river, with considerable loss, including the eleven Dutch guns which they left behind them. Major Murray, of the 78th, with about fifty men, felt on this occasion on the side of the British.

### 38. WAR IN LA VENDÉE AND BRITTANY.

The Priest Bernier united to the ambition of his character all that recklessness of the means of obtaining power that belongs to

violent times. He saw that he could make use of Stofflet to govern in his name, and he hoped to obtain by his means the name and authority of "Commissaire-Général de l'armée catholique et royale." For this purpose a meeting of the royalists was convened at the Château de Magièces, which was fully attended by the Vendéans, together with 800 deputies from Brittany, when he proposed the establishment of a commissary-in-chief, with a council having most despotic powers; all were stunned at such a proposition, but one deputy alone named Dupuis raised his voice against it, and no sooner was the council finished than this unhappy man was put in irons and committed to prison. To obtain money, essential to his object, the establishment of a general paper currency was resorted to. But the cause of liberty, as is too often the case, was disgraced in La Vendée by the jealousies and unscrupulous rivalries of its leaders. Charette and Stofflet became jealous of De Marigny, who was accordingly tried by his enemies, condemned, and mercilessly shot; this was more immediately the act of the latter, but not to be out-done, Charette contrived that Joly should be made odious by being charged with abuses in the provisionment of the patriots, and escaping for his life, this unhappy chief was also hunted down, caught, and massacred by his co-patriots.

On the side of the government a total change of system was now, however, adopted; instead of the sanguinary violence which such a man as Carrier had dictated, commissaries of a more moderate character were sent to the Vendean army, the command of which was again given to General Canclaux, rather a prudent than an able man, and who was deemed better suited to the task of winning back revolted subjects than he had shown himself to that of subduing them; indeed, the Convention now rendered their change of policy more patent, by arraigning at its bar the authors of the barbarities committed in La Vendée and other districts concerned in the insurrection; the principal and most guilty of whom, Carrier, was tried, convicted of the crimes imputed to him, and guillotined in company with two members of the revolutionary tribunal who had been associated in his iniquities.

The new system contemplated also a change of military operations—instead of advancing great armies against the insurgents, twelve intrenched camps were established on either side of the Loire, so as to render the congregating of the patriots difficult, and especially to cut off all the combinations that might be arranged between the Vendéans and the Chouans. A considerable lull followed on this change of measures, and Charette, misunderstanding the occasion of it, was emboldened to action, and thought he might assume the lead because that his rival Stofflet was dispirited and cowed. Accordingly, on the 5th of September he collected together his followers and excited them by the following address: "Amis, nous n'avons à combattre que des citoyens convertis d'or et de soie; j'abandonne tout le butin aux plus courageux:" he then advanced to surprise and attack the camp of the republicans established at La Roulière, not far from Nantes. General Jacob, who was in command of the camp, happened to be absent, and the republican troops, utterly unprepared

for the assault of an enemy, became an easy prey: but while the patriots fell upon the spoil, the head of a column of troops was seen advancing from Montaigu. Charette collected in haste his best men and rushed to the post to meet it, routed the soldiers, and forced them back to their quarters.

Among the papers that now came into the possession of the Vendean chief in the plunder, Charette became informed that the intention of the government in forming these intrenched camps was to disarm and starve the patriot levies into subjection, and he accordingly determined immediately on the attack of another of these camps established at Frélicué; for this purpose he again assembled his forces on the 13th, and marched to the attack on the 15th, but the affair at La Roulière had roused the vigilance of the republicans, and the Brigadiers Prat and Mermet were on their guard and prepared to receive him. Their camp was secured against a *coup de main* by a connected parapet defended by ditches, palisades, and banquettes, and garrisoned with 2000 disciplined men; Charette, therefore, met with a determined resistance. Lecorse, Delaunay, St. Sauveur, and other leaders, with whole ranks of patriots, fell dead before the intrenchments which they could not enter; but Charette himself headed a new attack, and in this conflict Brigadier Prat, of the revolutionary force, was killed in the camp. Brigadier Mermet made a sortie for his assistance, but was surrounded and struck down in the sight of his son, a lad of fourteen, who accompanied him. Charette would have been taken prisoner but for the arrival of Lemache, who opportunely released him. The contest lasted five hours, and the carnage was horrible. The troops having lost their leaders, fled, and Charette, master of the camp, set it on fire; Mermet's son, piously protecting the dead body of his father, perished with it in the flames. The soldiers were almost entirely cut to pieces, and the patriots had 1500 killed and wounded.

Another Vendean body mustering 4000 men, under Renou and Guichard, advanced on the 20th against the camp at Chiché, near Chatillon. By some misunderstanding only one of these chiefs advanced to the attack, with 2400 men, and was repulsed; by a singular accident, the other division was surprised in a valley in which they had halted; but the troops now hearing the firing on the other side, were alarmed, and turned back, when they came in contact with the column repulsed from the camp; and thus placed between two fires they were almost annihilated. A few days later, however, General Grignon, commanding the camp at Verine, took his revenge by surprising Renou in his quarters at Noir Liez. Charette rather inflamed than mitigated the rivalry of Stoffet and the Priest by these successes, but these two last were too much enamoured of their assumed authority over the land to seek for any enemy, and as Charette could not act with permanent effect single handed, the rest of the year passed away in inaction. In the mean while Puisaye was exerting himself to organize the insurrection in Brittany; and though he failed in his endeavour to get possession of Rennes, the capital, yet he obtained every encouragement in his

task from the British Governor of Jersey; and by Lord Balcarrès's advice he repaired himself to London to secure the armed co-operation of the English, and if possible the presence of some one of the French Princes in his camp. The Count de Trotté, who had served with the emigrant army of Condé, repaired to the Chouan standard, and the Marquis Dudesnay was sent with British gold to organize a force in Normandy and the Cotentin; but the proposed plan of sending an expedition of some 10,000 men to disembark between Cancale and Paimpol was declined by the British government.

### 39. WAR IN THE PYRENEES.

In the Eastern Pyrenees Bellegarde continued invested by the 20,000 Frenchmen under General Dugommier, who thought to reduce it by famine rather than to besiege it, in order that it might be hereafter reconquered for the Republic without injury to its defences. The Spanish General La Union commanded an army of 25,000 men in the vicinity of Figueras, having about 15,000 men at Puycerda. The garrison at Bellegarde being distressed for provisions, La Union thought it necessary to make an effort either to revictual the place or to break up the blockade. On the 13th of August the Spanish army was put in motion for this object; the intention was to move a force upon the right of Dugommier's army, while demonstrations should be made on his left towards the Col de Bagnols. The principal point of attack was to be St. Laurent de la Mouga, where Augereau commanded. The division of General Courten, by a forced march well concealed from observation, appeared at three in the morning, utterly unexpected, at the foot of the mountain of Terradas, before that town. The Spaniards mounted the hill, attacked the brigade of General Lemoine, and drove them back to their batteries, which they afterwards carried with the bayonet, and the French retired and took post at La Madeleine. The Brigadier Perlasca, who commanded the attack on Port de Grau, was equally successful, and drove the enemy out of that position without firing a shot. The division of Izquierdo, with the 3rd and 4th brigades, advancing direct on St. Laurent de la Mouga, encountered General Mirabel, who caught him in a gorge of the hills near the foundry, when Augereau bringing up the brigade of Guyeux overwhelmed and routed him, but fell wounded in the attempt; thus encouraged, however, Lemoine, now assisted by the division of Laurent, advanced against Courten, and retook the batteries. Izquierdo routed, and Perlasca being left to his own resources, Courten was obliged to yield his ground, and about midday the whole Spanish army was driven back. Marechal-del-Campo Godoy had been ordered to march round the republican force at St. Laurent, and attack their rear; but he encountered in the way the chasseurs of the Adjutant-General Bon, who forced him to fly, and the column of Carrión had been encountered and driven back by the brigade of Duran. Such being the state of the attack, La Union was too prudent to persevere, and ordered a general retreat to the lines.

The French were equally successful against the false attacks on the left. Generals Belvis and Taranco with 4000 foot and 1800 horse no sooner appeared at Cantalup, than they were assailed by nine companies of grenadiers and six battalions under Generals Micas and Causse, who drove them back upon Estolla, where the Vicomte de Gand (an emigrant) held a redoubt with so bold a front as to check all further pursuit. On the side of the Col de Bagnols, the Spanish Admiral Gravina with some gun-boats attempted a landing from the shore behind the French troops, but was successfully opposed in his attempts by the battalion of Tarn and some grenadiers under the command of a chef de bataillon.

The encounter was sufficiently savage to have been attended with much loss. Augereau was wounded with two balls. Sauret and many other superior officers were also seriously injured, together with about 800 men. The Spanish loss also was very considerable. General Dugommier, however, learned the weakness of his position, and immediately withdrew his men closer together towards the top of the mountains, so as to restrain Bellegarde with a nearer embrace. This place, however, saw no hope of any further relief, and after a blockade of 134 days surrendered on terms on the 17th of September.

La Union, before he knew of the surrender, determined to try the effect of some manœuvring on his adversary, and moved forward on the 21st the brigades of Taranco and Godoy to threaten the heights of Campmani, in front of Montroich. The Spaniards found no resistance till they reached the latter place, but getting clubbed after ascending the steep, they were assailed by the garrison in the intrenchments, and driven back to the banks of the Llobregat, where they were covered by the Portuguese regiment of Oporto, who came to their aid. La Union was indignant at all these reverses, and offered his resignation of the command, which was refused. He then thundered a general order against his army; disgraced some of the regiments, and pronounced death against any soldier who should quit his colours. Singularly enough, he took on himself at this time to make overtures of peace to Dugommier, who sent them to his government, but the court of Madrid refused to treat excepting on the terms of providing some independent territory for the children of Louis XVI. On this the Committee of Public Safety sent word to their General, "C'est à notre artillerie à répondre: disposez tout et frappez."

In the Western Pyrenees Don Ventura Caro had been replaced, after the failure of the Croix des Bouquets, by the Conde de Colomera, Viceroy of Navarre, who gave the command of the valley of Bastan to Lieutenant-General Urrutia, and stationed the emigrant Marquis de St. Simon with 7000 men at Harquengu, to defend the entrance to the valley on that side. On the 9th of July General Moncey observing that, naturally strong as the position was, it was quite isolated and close to the French frontier, called to his support Latour d'Auvergne with his grenadiers to attack St. Simon. The brigade of Digonet, which led the attack, did not succeed in sur-

prising the emigrants, and they defended themselves with courage, but yielded to increasing numbers and retired in good order to Irrouita, with the loss of 800 men. In the retreat St. Simon was struck down with a ball: the republican commander, on seeing this, exclaimed to his men, "Ne tirez plus, nous le tenons." The Marquis heard this and cried out, "Non, non, tu ne me tiens pas encore: viens me chercher si tu l'oses." His troops rallied round him, raised him on a litter, and carried him off.

Encouraged by this success, the republican General-in-Chief Muller formed a plan for penetrating into Spain. On the 24th of July Moncey's division was to descend into Bastan by the four passes of Berderis, Ispequy, Florietta, and Maya; the division of Laborde was to assail Echelar; Frégeville on the right near the coast was to cross the Bidassoa at the same time; and Generals Mauer and Marlot on the left, near St. Jean Pied de Port, were to keep in check the Spanish corps under the Duke d'Ossuna. On the 27th Digonet at the head of 7000 men marched from Ispequy on Erazun; the Spaniards abandoned the fort which defended the Col, and fled to the village, which they had *créneléed*. The French, by force of muscular strength, dragged with them some guns across the heights, and now opened fire on the Spaniards, when Mendizabal, surprised and alarmed at the presence of artillery, fell back, abandoning the post of Arizeun on the appearance of Brigadier Lefranc, who had descended into the valley by the Col de Berderis, and the republicans pursued their march to Elisondo. Moncey and Latour d'Auvergne attacked the Col de Maya, where the Count d'Urrutia commanded, who gave way before them after a slight resistance, and Moncey soon assembled his whole force at Elisondo, the capital town of the valley of Bastan. General Laborde with his division had the more difficult task of forcing the intrenchments of the mountain of Commissari, and then the Spanish camp at Berra. He divided his force into three columns; General Dessein at the head of one was to assail a star fort defended by a deep ditch, in the centre General Laborde was to lead the attack on the gorge D'Olhiet, and General Cambray with the left was to force the passage on the side of the mountain Le Rhune. The star fort was defended by Brigadier Cagigal, a young soldier of reputation, who received Dessein with a murderous fire, so that the French soldiers sought protection under one of the re-entering angles of the curtain, but were decimated by grape-shot from the fort. An adjutant-general was killed, and the troops hesitated, when Dessein led them forward with the bayonet and got possession of the curtain, when he was enabled to bring the fire of some guns to bear against the fort. At this juncture Laborde came up with the centre column by the side of the gorge D'Olhiet. Cagigal, attacked at once by the two columns, defended himself bravely, but was at length made prisoner, and the fort taken. Being of a fair complexion, and unlike a Spaniard, the republicans took him for an *émigré*, and would have killed him on the spot but for the devotion of Dessein, who interfered for the life of his brave antagonist. In the mean time Cambray had advanced with his column and

taken possession of the redoubt of Maria Louisa, which commanded the camp at Berra.

Colomera, at Biriatu, finding himself wholly uncovered on his right flank by these successes, ordered a general retreat behind the Bidassoa, when D'Urrutia fell back on St. Estevan, while the rest of the army held possession of the camp of St. Marceil, behind Yrun. The Spaniards abandoned in this retreat magazines and stores of great value, and lost some 400 prisoners; but Colomera resolved to maintain his ground in this position, which he had fortified with great care and with many forts, during a period of fifteen months, having palisaded every accessible approach across the river. Lieutenant-General Gill commanded the left at St. Marceil, Urrutia the right at St. Estevan.

#### 40. BATTLE OF ST. MARCEIL AND CAPTURE OF FUENTERABIA.

The General-in-Chief Muller, encouraged by his successes in getting possession of the valley of Bastan, consulted his generals as to the practicability of "taking the bull by the horns," and assaulting the intrenched camp, which he was earnestly urged to do by the field-deputies. After considerable reflection, he rejected a proposition to send the right wing across the mountains, and descend the valley of the Urumea, upon Ernani, which would have been very rash, but if successful would have completely cut off all retreat from the Spaniards, but adopted the more moderate plan of despatching orders to Moncey to move from Elisondo across the perilous roads of Mont Atchiola, upon Lesaca, and thence to advance and take possession of the Mount Haya, directly overlooking the road from Yrun to Oyarzun, whilst Frégeville should attack the camp at St. Marceil. Moncey moved forward on the 27th of July, but it was the 1st of August before he had accomplished this arduous march: he was thirty-two hours marching seven leagues of ground to Lesaca, where he came up with Laborde's division, and found the Spanish troops in force before them at Mount Haya. Eight companies of grenadiers under the brave young Grange fearlessly advanced against them, and carried the summit after a contest of an hour. General Frégeville put his troops in motion against the camp on the 31st; leaving two battalions to watch the fords under General Dessein, he on the 1st ascended the river towards Biriatu, crossed the ford, notwithstanding the palisades, and fell on the rear of the batteries that defended the camp on this side. Dessein at the same time attacked the front, and Muller himself at the head of a reserve got across a bridge at Bioby, which so alarmed the defenders of the camp, that Gill, who had been directed to resist to the last extremity, hearing at the same time that the French were already masters of Mount Haya, now trembled for his rear; and after a feeble conflict abandoned the camp and retreated to Oyarzun. The rearguard maintained its firmness, but in their retreat exploded some magazines, which encouraged the troops who had taken Haya to attack them on their march. The Marechal-del-Campo Miras with his cavalry, supported by the devotion of the battalions of

Reding and Ultonia and the Walloon guards, resisted all the attempts of the republicans to force them, but they could not withdraw the artillery, which in the end was sacrificed, and 200 guns became the prize of the victors. Frégeville, immediately he perceived the state of things, rode off with the field-deputy Garrau and 300 light troops to Fuenterrabia, where he was at first received by a fire of grape, which killed three men at his side; but he made a dash at a redoubt called "of the Capuchins," and took it. This commanded the town, and thinking he could turn this successful boldness to account, he immediately sent a flag of truce to acquaint the Governor with the fate of the Spanish army. The poor man asked twenty-four hours to convince him of the truth of the statement, but the General would only grant him six minutes, and the Governor, frightened at the tone and resolution of the enemy, capitulated forthwith with 800 men. Fuenterrabia had been named the Virgin, because it had never been hitherto captured; and the Spaniards were as mortified as the French were delighted with this easy capture.

The victorious army followed the defeated Spaniards along the great Camina Reale to Ernani, and Frégeville was ordered immediately to invest St. Sebastian, garrisoned with 1700 men. Latour d'Auvergne was sent to summon the place, and profiting by the terror which the unopposed success of the French invasion had every where occasioned, he so conducted himself that the weak old Governor asked permission to capitulate, and on the 4th that fortress also was surrendered.

On the 9th of August the conquerors had reached Tolosa, when on the first appearance of the advanced guards under General Merle, the Count Colomera retired one-half of his army on the road to Pampluna, and the remainder towards Montdragon. The rearguard no sooner saw the French than they fled, and General Mirau with his cavalry alone showed themselves worthy of the name of soldiers.

Muller having resigned, or been recalled, Moncey was appointed to the chief command of this army; the Spaniards under the Duke d'Ossuna still protected the passage into the kingdom by Roncesvalles; but the French army of the Western Pyrenees was now grown to be the most considerable force that ever threatened the frontier of Spain. Sixty-six battalions and eight squadrons, with a superb train of artillery and every requisite of war, made the King tremble for his capital; nevertheless, this army remained for a period of two months inactive. At length, after some discussions with the authorities at Paris, and other unaccountable delays, the republican army was again set in motion on the 15th of October. Frégeville advancing along the great causeway across the Leecumberg met with a very poor resistance, and General Laborde quitted Elizondo the same day, and moved across the Col de Belate into the valley of Lans, where he met Filangieri, with 2000 Spaniards, who made little show of opposition. Laborde here united himself with a corps of seven battalions under Castelvort and Dumas, and following after Filangieri with a mass of twenty picked bat-



talions that he termed his "colonne infernale," came up with him on the 16th at the royal foundry of Esquy, where the Spanish General Don Viscarette had collected 4000 men; the French again drove him back into the mountains, with the loss of two guns. In the mean time Moncey came up from St. Jean Pied de Port, and mounting the valley of the Nive to its source, threatened Orbaigetta. General Urrutia accordingly concentrated his small force at Altobiscan, where he had constructed a fort on the summit of the mountain range where the high road to Pampeluna crosses it, and he despatched a small reinforcement to assist Filangieri. On the 17th Laborde attacked Viscarette again, drove him into the valley of Roncesvalles, and forced him to unite with the Duke d'Ossuna at Burghette, but the republicans now unaccountably pulled up. Moncey had despatched Generals Maurer and Marlot against the Spanish General Cagigal into the valley of Roncesvalles, who encountered and overthrew him with considerable loss, and forced him to retire on Orbaigetta. The Duke d'Ossuna thus finding himself pressed on both flanks by Laborde and Marlot, and threatened in his rear at Cubari and Erro, withdrew all his troops and detachments, and retreated to Aoy; in all these affairs the Spaniards lost forty guns and 1500 prisoners. The weather in the mountains, however, so confounded the French army that they could not act; only one combat of any importance (on the 24th-25th of November) relieved the monotony of an almost absolute cessation of hostilities: the consequence was, that the republicans found themselves obliged to retire into winter-quarters on the northern side of the Pyrenees, leaving Count Colomera and the Duke d'Ossuna still in sufficient force to defend the approaches to Pampeluna.

#### 41. DUGOMMIER INVADES SPAIN, AND IS KILLED—THE SPANISH GENERAL LA UNION IS KILLED.

General Dugommier after his little episode of negotiations with his adversary, General La Union, had remained inactive till the middle of November, when he roused himself to the formidable enterprise of attacking the Spanish line of intrenchments opposed to him. These consisted of seventy-seven redoubts, or open batteries, garrisoned with 250 pieces, disposed in a double line on an extent of five leagues, from Espolla at the foot of the Col de Bagnols to the hills behind St. Laurent de Mouga, and a vast intrenched camp was established at Figueras to contain 50,000 men, to provide for the defence of them. The left of the Spanish position was regarded by the French Commander as the most attainable or least formidable. In the night of the 16th-17th of November, the right wing under the orders of General Augereau marched from Coustouge in three columns, to attack Terradas and La Madeleine. General Perignon with the brigade of Guyeux was at the same time to advance from Darnuys, and General Sauret on the left, flanked by a brigade under General Victor, was to threaten Vallernadal and St. Clemente, and it found practicable to assail the hill of Campmani. One division with the cavalry under General Duqua, and sixteen guns under General

Guillaume, was to form the reserve. The two first columns under Augereau united when it was still almost dark, advanced through the mountains behind La Madeleine, and carried every thing before them. He now awaited there the arrival of Perignon. The Spanish General Courten did not however await that junction, for finding himself already outflanked, notwithstanding that he had 10,000 men with him, he beat a hasty retreat, and abandoned all the forts on the right bank of the Mougá, and retreated as far as Escaulas.

General Sauret was not so fortunate in his attack, for La Union was prepared for it, and placed the defences of Campmani under the command of his chef-d'état, Major Morla; and while he charged him to maintain that post, he ordered General Vives with 10,000 men to fall on the right flank of Sauret's advancing column. In the mean time the French General, in consequence of the difficulties of the ground, had divided his column into three, and these not acting in perfect concert, attacked singly the redoubts at Villarscoli and Campmani, and failed against the Spanish General Belvis, who here commanded, whose colleague, Taranco, had equally stopped Victor's brigade at Espolla; and the Vicomte de Gand, marching with rapidity, threatened to fall on the French camp at Cantalup, which Victor hastened back to defend.

The contest having lasted till nightfall, recommenced with the dawn. Augereau again assailed the Spanish left, where Courten had succeeded in rallying his fugitives, and all the other French divisions renewed their attacks. Dugommier, who had passed the night in a grotto in the mountains, repaired at four in the morning to the top of the Black Mountain, from whence when the day broke he could see the whole extent of his attack. About ten o'clock a shell struck his head, and he fell to the ground in the midst of his staff and near his two sons, who had accompanied him. He felt it to be his death stroke, and said to those around him, "Faites en sorte de cacher ma mort à nos soldats afin qu'ils achèvent de remporter la victoire: seule consolation de mes derniers moments." The deputy Dellrel immediately invested General Perignon with the command; Sauret loudly demanded assistance, for Morla and Amarillas stood firm. All that could be done was to advance a brigade to check De Gand in his hostile intentions. Notwithstanding all the exertions of Perignon the French left wing was obliged to be withdrawn, and their right wing under De Guyeux could not overcome the resistance of the enemy. Augereau, therefore, called up General Beaufort to his aid, and the great redoubt which covered the foundry, defended by 1200 men, soon yielded to their assault; the Spaniards were driven from redoubt to redoubt, and at length their General, rallying the remains of his division, abandoned them with all their artillery and camp equipage, and sought protection under the guns of Figueras.

Had La Union taken Morla's advice to abandon his redoubts and march boldly against the centre and left of the French, he might have got possession of the high road to Bellegarde, and cut off completely the right wing of the republican army; but the Spanish General

lost his opportunity, and Perignon now saw his moment and availed himself of it. On the 20th, at four in the morning, he sent forward Augereau to attack the redoubt Las del Rouse, placed on the great Camina Reale at Port des Moulens, and Brigadier Chebert to assault the camp at Liere, while a detachment was sent further to the right along the road from Cistella. The Adjutant-General Bon leading forward the chasseurs across the Moug, which was up to their necks, stormed the hill of Escaulas, and took this formidable redoubt, revêted with masonry and armed with twenty-five guns; but Cagigal and Godoy defended it bravely. La Union came up at the moment of the assault, and in the act of leading an attack against the French was struck dead with a ball. The Spanish troops, at sight of the death of their General, fled, and the Ponte del Molino was next seized by the enemy. A dispute arose between the Prince de Monforte and the Marquis de las Amarillas, as to the succession of commanding in chief; but while this lasted, the brigades of Perlasca and Puerto were driven out of the camp at Liere, having only time to nail the guns in battery, and flying, they met a reinforcement coming to their aid, out of Figueras; the whole corps forthwith caught the infection, and returned into that town pell-mell. The French left wing, seeing the successes of their companions on the right, now redoubled their efforts, and taking possession of the intrenchments of St. Clemente and Espolla, carried by storm the redoubts of Passimilians, and others, after a vigorous resistance. The French troops, who had taken the Ponte del Molino, were moved to their right to fall on the rear of the wing of the Spaniards at Esterella, and Count las Amarillas, who had assumed the command, determined to abandon the camp at Figueras, and gave Gerona as the point to retreat upon; he then made his own way by Peralada, and directed Courten to cover the retrograde movements of the rest of his army with his corps, and with the cavalry of Lieutenant-General Medinuetta: Izquierdo, with 4000 men and 3000 horse, was directed to take post in great haste at the Pic d'Oriols, to secure the bridge over the Fluria, at Bascara. Augereau immediately invested Figueras, in which were collected a mere mob of fugitives of all arms, without discipline and without leaders.

The extreme right of the Spanish army, under Lieutenant-General Vives, was ignorant of all that had occurred on its left and centre, and with the emigrants under the Marquis de Gand, and the brigade of Taranco, were at Villarscoli and Rabos, keenly intent on outflanking the French left wing under Victor. Happily for them, an aide-de-camp from Amarillas reached them in time to order them to fall back on Massarach; and the French, seeing them begin to retire, turned and fell upon them, forcing them to abandon some cannon. Vives had got together 9000 men and thirty-two pieces of artillery, and took position on the heights of Malvicina, but while he thought to defend himself here, a reiterated order to fall back on Gerona reached him, and he therefore despatched his guns to Roes, and at length succeeded in rejoining the army after a harassing march of twenty-three hours.

The loss to the Spaniards in these encounters was considerable; 10,000 men are said to have rested on the field of battle. Two other generals besides La Union fell; thirty guns and two colours were the trophies of the day, with an open road into the heart of Spain. The French loss was called 700, but was probably greater. Perignon was aware that Figueras was a work of the famous Vauban, and capable of defence against any number of men; but with republican boldness he ordered a summons to be addressed to the Governor André Torres, and in the night of the 23rd-24th he got possession of the town by the connivance of the inhabitants, and shut up the garrison in the citadel. The Governor hesitated at surrender, but after a negotiation of two days consented to enter into terms for a place garrisoned by 9400 men, with every requisite for a siege. The King of Spain, indignant at this cowardice, ordered the Marquis de las Amarillas to place Torres under arrest and institute a rigorous inquiry into his conduct; he was tried and condemned to death, but pardoned. The capture of Figueras closed the campaign in this quarter, and the French found themselves in excellent winter-quarters, supplied with every requisite of food and clothing from the well-provisioned towns they had taken in a rich and cheerful district to the south of the Pyrenees.

#### 42. WAR IN THE WEST INDIES—GUADALOUPE RETAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

The West Indies this year were marked by some singularities. In San Domingo Sarthonax had proclaimed a general liberty to all the blacks who would acknowledge the French Republic. The contests that ensued in consequence between the proprietors and their slaves, rendered this unfortunate island the scene of the most terrible discordance. It has been shown that Commodore Ford and General Whitelock, with a British expedition, had been sent to possess themselves of the capital, Port-au-Prince. A Spanish expedition under the Marquis d'Herenana, with the assistance of a native called Jean François, invaded the north of the island, and blockaded the French Governor Lavaux in the Port de Paix, near Cape François. Here he intrigued with an ambitious negro, called Toussaint Louvestuce, who, jealous of the honours obtained by Jean François, from his connexion with the Spaniards, sought to advance himself by means of a similar service with the French. On the 25th of June, at the head of a body of free blacks, he rose upon the Spaniards and massacred every one who came across his path. General Lavaux was by this means set free, and immediately moved to oppose the British in the south of the island. Generals Rigaud and Beauvais at the same time took the field, and obliged the black garrison of Léogane to surrender on the night of the 6th-7th of October. In the month of February the British had got possession of Cape Tiburon, in the south. On the 25th of December, at daylight, a body of French and colonial troops from Aux Cayes, amounting to some 800 regulars and 2000 blacks, and assisted by three armed vessels under Toussaint, attacked the British corvette

merchantman called "King George," in the harbour of Cape Tiburon. Finding more resistance from the ship than they expected, the French landed their artillery and erected a battery, which opened a heavy fire upon the ship, which she returned with spirit. At the end of forty-eight hours, however, a red-hot shot struck the magazine, when "King George" sank nearly to her battery, blew up, and all on board are believed to have perished. After this event, Lieutenant George Bradford, commanding 480 men of the 23rd regiment, abandoned the works at Cape Tiburon, and retired to Cape Donna Maria, with all his force.

The yellow fever broke out among the British garrison at Guadeloupe soon after they had captured it; and it so happened, that at this time, when thus afflicted, an expedition which had been sent to the Windward Islands from France, under Victor Hugues, arrived on the 3rd of June, in view of the island. Informed of the weak and sickly state of the garrison, the republican chief took the bold resolution of landing on the 6th, and stormed the fort of Fleur d'Epee. The British Commander, collecting reinforcements from the other islands, endeavoured to retrieve this loss; but the ranks of every regiment were so thinned by sickness, and the wants of other islands were so pressing, that it was no easy task to collect a respectable force. Admiral Jervis, on hearing the state of affairs, arrived on the 7th, and Sir Charles Grey on the 19th disembarked at Auzé-à-Canot, and took possession of the village of Gosier; and on the 2nd of July made an unsuccessful attempt on Point-à-Petre. Hugues, collecting and arming the creoles and slaves, successfully opposed every attack, and after the loss of twelve officers and nearly 100 men, Grey quitted the island to endeavour to get reinforcements, leaving General Graham the task of recovering possession of it. When the season for military operations returned, considerable reinforcements arrived at the island from France, and an attack was immediately projected against Graham's camp, at Berville; he successfully resisted all these attempts against him until the 6th of October, but was at length induced to enter into terms of capitulation, and the whole island fell again into the hands of the republicans, leaving to Victor Hugues the complete possession of it, with the reputation of a leader of great ability.

#### 43. NAVAL WAR.

On the 23rd of August a British squadron of seven frigates, under Captain Sir J. Borlase Warren, discovered and chased the French frigate "Volontaire," 36, and drove her to shore near the Penmarc'h. Two corvettes in company with the frigate got away, and rode into the bay of Andierne, under cover of three batteries, which opened upon the pursuers; but nevertheless the boats under Captain Sir Edward Pellew were despatched to destroy the vessels, and succeeded, with the trifling loss of six men wounded. "La Recluse," 40, "L'Espion," 18, and "Alert," 18, were bilged and scuttled, and their crews brought away prisoners.

On the 22nd, off the Isle of France, the "Centurion," 50, Captain

S. Osborne, and the "Diomede," 44, Captain Matthew Smith, gave chase to a French squadron composed of "Cybèle," 44, "Prudente," 36, "Jean Bart," 20, and "Courier," 14, under the orders of Commodore Jean Marie Renaud, who at once determined to fight the two British ships. The firing began at 3.30; the "Prudente" with the Commodore's flag ran alongside the "Centurion," and opened a fire within musket-shot, which in thirty minutes very much damaged her sails and rigging, but instead of boarding, the French ship with every spar standing, ran to leeward out of gun-shot; when the "Cybèle," making sail ahead, opened fire upon the "Centurion" as she passed her, and brought down her mizen-topmast, and fore-top-gallant-mast; but the British ship returned the fire with such good effect upon her enemy's rigging, that she could not proceed, and the "Centurion" stuck to her adversary until her main-top-gallant-mast and soon afterwards her fore-topmast were shot away, but, nevertheless, she got off and joined the "Prudente." Both the "Diomede" and "Centurion" wore in pursuit, but the latter was too much wounded to pursue, and all the four vessels of the enemy, carrying as much sail as they could set, steered to the westward, followed and fired at by the "Diomede," until dark. The French Commodore was wounded, and his first and second lieutenants killed, with about 100 men. The British loss was about twenty men in the "Centurion," without a single casualty on board the "Diomede;" the two British commanders were brought to court-martial, and Captain Smith, of the "Diomede," was cashiered, but restored to his rank on petition; the sentence being pronounced to be "unwarrantable, and not to be supported."

On the 6th of November the Contre-Amiral Neilly with five 74's sailed from Brest on a cruise to the westward to intercept the home-ward-bound Oporto fleet, and the same day this squadron fell in with two British 74's, the "Alexander," Captain Rodney Bligh, and the "Canada," Captain Powell Hamilton. Two of the ships chased the "Canada," and the remaining three the "Alexander," and thus they compelled the two British ships to separate. The unequal conflict was sustained by the "Alexander" from eight A.M. until one P.M., by which time she had lost her main-yard, spanker-boom, and three top-gallant yards, and had her hold nearly full of water, when Captain Bligh ordered her colours to be hauled down, and struck to the Frenchmen; his loss in the action was about forty killed and wounded. The "Canada" got away, having sustained very little damage, and reached a home port in safety.

On the 21st of October, at daybreak, the "Arethusa," 38, Captain Sir E. Pellew, "Artois," 38, Captain Sir Edmund Naylor, "Diamond," 38, Captain Sir W. Sidney Smith, with "Galatea," 32, Captain Goodwin Keats, gave chase to the French frigate "Révolutionnaire," 40, Captain Thévenard, and succeeded in cutting her off from the land; she was then engaged singly by the "Artois," and defended herself with great spirit for forty minutes, when the other frigates closing, the French crew refused any longer to defend their ship, and Captain Thévenard struck his colours.

1795.

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# 1. WAR ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER—AFFAIR AT GELDER-MALZEM.

The republican army, although driven back across the Waal, renewed their efforts on the 2nd of January against the Dutch in the strong fortress of Gorcum, now exposed to an attack by the passage across the ice, a casualty not contemplated in its construction. The Prince of Orange had daily conflicts with the enemy, who again got possession of Tuil and Waardenburgh on the 3rd. It was the intention of Walmoden, with the united corps of Dundas and Dalwig, to have attacked the French at daylight on the 4th, and to have driven them again across the river, but at two on the same morning an outlying wing of the 33rd, posted at Gelder-Malzem with eighty cavalry, was unexpectedly and vigorously attacked by the division of General Salm, and obliged to fall back to rejoin their regiment under Colonel Wesley. The impetuosity of the attack bore down all opposition, and in a charge made by the French hussars against the 11th light dragoons, the British were repulsed with the loss of four guns. General Dundas, who commanded the post, immediately sent

forward the remainder of Balfour's brigade, together with Laurie's cavalry, who charged upon the ice with great spirit, pursuing the enemy over the frozen river as it had been dry land, and in this skurry the 42nd succeeded in retaking the guns; the French retired on Meteren, with what loss was not known; but among the British, Laurie, the Brigadier, and about eighty men were wounded, and five killed.

The inclemency of the season increased; and the rivers, estuaries, and inundations froze as they had never been known to do before, so that the whole country, land and water, was one unbroken sheet of ice. On the 6th Walmoden gave orders to the British and Hanoverians to pass the Leck; on the 7th they camped, resting their left on the Dutch army at Cuilemburg, and their right upon the Austrian corps d'armée at Wageningen. The Orange party in Holland had already sent to treat with the French General-in-Chief, who had haughtily answered them that he could only negotiate at Amsterdam; but the Stadtholder now retired from his army and summoned a conference at Utrecht with the British ambassador and allied generals. In consequence of their deliberations, and a slight change in the weather, which had turned to a thaw, Abercrombie was ordered to march with a considerable force of British, on the 8th, upon Tuil and Bommel; but in the night the frost returned, which altered all their calculations; nevertheless, as the orders were out, the troops marched at early morning. Lieut.-Colonel Buller, with the 14th and 27th regiments, found on his arrival at Buren a considerable body of the enemy in their front, and sent to Lord Cathcart for support, who immediately came up with his brigade, and some Hulan horse, and pursued his march on Gelder-Malzem, driving before him the opposing forces into Buren-Malzem, situated on the little river Ling; these endeavoured to stop the British advance, but were overthrown with the loss of a gun, and Lord Cathcart maintained himself at this point till nightfall, having lost in the several encounters of the day three officers and twelve men killed, and three lieut.-colonels and three other officers with 120 men wounded. General Abercrombie and Hammerstein did not succeed on their side in reaching Thiel, but Dundas assembled all his forces, with Wurmb's Hessians, and took post at Buren.

On the 10th the French in several columns passed the Waal above Nimeguen, where the river was not frozen, and the brigade of Regnier, having crossed near Oeg, moved on the village of Op-Heusden, where the British and Austrian forces touched; these parting from one another, turned severally right and left, and retreated on Wageningen and Arnheim, leaving some men and guns behind them after a sharp encounter, in which the 55th regiment in Conte's brigade lost about fifty killed and wounded. Abercrombie, on hearing of this affair, immediately withdrew all the British from Buren, and inclining to his right to the assistance of Conte's brigade, crossed the Rhine at Rhenen. The republicans under Salm, Macdonald, and Delmas, now crossed the Waal near Thiel, driving Panier with a Dutch division before them beyond Hardinksweld.



## 2. HOLLAND OVERRUN BY THE FRENCH.

The Low Countries now yielded to their fate: on the 12th the French took possession of Gorcum, and on the 14th of Heusden, and Williamstadt was already in imminent danger. The republicans, following up their successes, drove back Walmoden from Rhenen, who now separated himself entirely from the Dutch army, and fell back between Arnheim and Zutchen, so that on the 17th Utrecht was occupied by General Salm's division, and Vandamme took possession of Arnheim. On the same day the Stadtholder delivered into the hands of the States General his resignation of his government, and embarked forthwith from Schweningen for England; the Dutch troops immediately received orders no longer to resist the French, and on the 20th Pichegru entered Amsterdam, not only by virtue of the success of his arms, but by the means of a popular revolution, which had been got up by General Daendels and his party in the capital.

Considerable anxiety existed among the British troops as to the fate of the 87th regiment, which had been left in the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was now to be delivered up to the French; but this regiment, compromised by the defection of an ally, was generously permitted by the conquerors to separate itself from the garrison, and to be sent back to England. General Bonneau was now sent by the republican General to take possession of the whole of the Dutch seaboard, and having successively captured Gertruydenberg, Dordrecht, and Rotterdam, he proceeded to Helvoetsluys, where there was a small garrison under a Dutch commander, one Stoury, a partisan of the republicans, and with him there were 600 prisoners; the Governor received instructions to arm these men, with whom he rose upon his own garrison, and took all prisoners, amongst others the Princes of Salm-Salm and Hohenlohe, and an aide-de-camp of General Clairfait's, who were all there waiting for a passage to England. These were at once despatched to Paris to swell the triumph of the French conquests. Many unfortunate emigrants were in Holland at the time of its occupation by the Republic, who fled for their lives to Amsterdam; and, when that city was taken, they endeavoured to get on board the Dutch fleet at Texel. Hither they were followed by the French dragoons, who not only scoured North Holland, but followed after them to Helder. Here was lying ice-bound the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of twelve ships of war: the frost had made the sea in this harbour as firm as the land, and the novel feat of arms was now here witnessed for the first time in history: on the 30th of January the entire fleet of Holland was captured by a charge of the French cavalry.

## 3. WALMODEN RETIRES BEHIND THE EEMS—THE BRITISH EMBARK FOR ENGLAND.

The invasion and occupation of Holland by the enemy placed the British and Hanoverian army in great jeopardy. An attack was made on the 14th on Rhenen, in which the British guards success-

fully resisted the French with a loss of some twenty men, but about midnight the whole army was withdrawn. It was determined to occupy the line of the river Yssel, where the fortresses of Doesburg, Zutphen, Deventer, and Campen gave hopes of resistance, and accordingly the military stores and artillery were removed from Arnheim, but the sick and wounded who could not be removed were left in hospital at Rhenen to the compassion of the enemy, and it may be remarked *en passant* they generously protected them. The French troops under Macdonald were not put in motion until after General Walmoden broke up from the Yssel, and then contented themselves with camping at Grebbe, on the borders of the horrid desert, or open plain, called the Weluwe, which they had no mind to encounter. The British, however, had no choice in this matter, their government having now resolved, under the circumstances of the war, to withdraw their forces altogether from the Continent, and having fixed on Bremen for the port of embarkation, the whole British and Hanoverian army retreated gradually across this dreadful waste. They had now a new enemy to encounter; not only was the weather still most severe, and the republicans supposed to be in pursuit, but the British had, in consequence of the influence of French emissaries, a concealed enemy in every Dutch town and village through which they had to pass; no direct hostilities, it is true, were committed, but every species of injury and disservice was done that inveterate malice could suggest. The army laboured under the most severe privation; the sufferings of the sick and wounded were beyond description. The country called the Weluwe is a bare district, with little habitation and scarcely a tuft of grass or solitary shrub; over this, therefore, the wind now drifting the snow, rendered it almost impossible to wrestle against, so that numbers perished through want and weakness, and some were frozen to death.

Not an enemy happily appeared upon their track, until the 16th of February, when General Walmoden had established his headquarters at Munster, and General Harcourt had taken post at Osnabruck. It may perhaps amuse the British reader to be informed, on the authority of the "*Victoires et Conquêtes*," that the British army was, at this time, under the necessity either to fight, or "*de fuir lâchement comme elle avait jusqu'alors; la terreur était imprimée si profondément dans l'âme de ces fiers Bretons, que le seul aspect d'un soldat français suffisait pour faire fuir des corps entiers. La brigade du Général Regnier fut témoin de cette pusillanimité des Anglais.*" However, it was not till the 24th of February that any French force appeared in front of the British, but on that day they attacked the advanced posts at Oldenvach, where Lieut.-Colonel Strutt commanded, who was immediately reinforced by Abercrombie from Bertheim. On the 1st of March the division of Macdonald came *aux prises* with Lord Cathcart's division near the bay of Dollart, and on the 4th his Lordship withdrew before the French across the Eems, who immediately took possession of Nieuwe Schans and Oudelinghe Schans, while the brigades of Jourdain and

Meynier summoned the fortress of Bourtayes, which was immediately surrendered by the two regiments of Salm and Rohan that formed the garrison. Moreau at the same time took possession of the castle of Bertheim, where he captured 600 men and some guns; but the state of the weather after the thaw rendered campaigning so unendurable, that the pursuers got as tired as the pursued of marching up to their middle in water across cheerless swamps, and hence gave up their further contest.

The Prussian King was at this period in negotiation with the French Republic to effect a peace; but although it was a sad weakness (of which that State had afterwards grievous cause to repent) to desert the coalition of Britain, Austria, and Russia against republican principles at this period, yet, from either a feeling of gratitude for the subsidies she had received, or a natural generosity for the old allies whom she was deserting, so it was, that her army under Marshal Moellendorf marched at this moment into Westphalia, and arrived on the 8th of March at Lipstadt, joining the line of the allies, which was then concentrated behind the Eems; the Hessians and Hanoverians in the centre, at Lingen, and the British on the right, towards Embden. By degrees these last were relieved in their quarters by the Germans, and fell back behind the Weser, where their transports awaited them; so that on the 25th of March the British head-quarters were transferred to Bremen, notwithstanding some remonstrances on the part of that free city. The embarkation forthwith commenced, and on the 12th of April General Harcourt, having brought every thing British on board, embarked in the "Andromache" frigate, the fleet put to sea, and all the vessels reached their respective destinations in safety. A small corps of British troops, however, remained on the Continent, under the command of General Dundas, but had never to contend against any enemy, and were withdrawn the following year. It deserves to be recorded, that the sufferings endured by their countrymen in this sad campaign were not only sympathized in most cordially by "the gentlemen of England who live at home at ease," but donations of every kind, and especially of warm clothing, alleviated the rigours of the march; and consoled the poor fellows exposed to the most severe privations, with the assurance that they were cared for by their friends and countrymen: but the Greeks who returned under Xenophon from an unsuccessful and hard expedition into Asia, were not more transported at the sight of the Ionian Sea, than were the well-deserving soldiers of Britain when they espied the crowds that met them on their native shores on the 8th of May.

#### 4. PRUSSIA MAKES PEACE WITH FRANCE.

It was very nearly on the self-same day that the British left the Continent, that the Republic received its first acknowledgment from one of the great powers of Europe, when France ratified the treaty with the King of Prussia. Her friendship was now sought at, and other alliances speedily ensued with Sweden and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But the British minister, Pitt, was not appeased

or shaken in his policy; he redoubled his energies to obtain allies on the Continent, in order to carry on the contest against the French Republic. Russia was induced to conclude an alliance with Great Britain and Austria, and forthwith sent a fleet to blockade the captured Dutch fleet in the Texel; and the United States renewed their treaty of neutrality with England in June. The kingdom of Naples was also added at this time to the confederation against France.

#### 5. WAR IN THE PYRENEES—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ROSAS.

The capture of Figueras rendered the French masters of the whole plain of Lampourdan, and enabled General Perignon to undertake the siege of Rosas, where Izquierdo was in garrison with 4000 men, having in the port a Spanish fleet of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Gravina. Rosas was a town only surrounded with an old double wall without a ditch, but was completely commanded by its citadel, which in its turn was itself overlooked by the fort called Della Trinita. Several sorties had been made by the besieged in the course of the previous month of December, but the besiegers got possession on the 1st of January of a height called Priez-bon, which enabled them to silence the guns in the fort of La Trinita, as also to command the fleet in the bay; and on the 7th the Spaniards, finding under these circumstances the fort untenable, evacuated it. On the 15th the weather had become severe here as well as in the North, and all the works of the siege were filled with snow, and the troops killed by the cold at their posts, so that on the 25th the besiegers were absolutely obliged to stop work; but they had already established eleven batteries against the place, and these were enabled to maintain their fire. On the 31st Perignon, putting himself at the head of an assault, took possession of all the outworks: and a practicable breach in the interior was effected on the 2nd of February, when, in the night, the garrison embarked in safety and evacuated the place altogether, of which the French took possession, together with a rearguard of about 300 men who could not get away in time. Urratia, in command of the Spanish army, had his head-quarters at St. Estevan, behind the Fluvia, during the whole of the siege, which lasted seventy days, but did not stir a finger to disturb the operations or make any attempt to avert the fall of the place.

Notwithstanding his success, Perignon was now superseded in the command of the republican army by Scherer; but before he quitted the army he resolved to establish his quarters in Catalonia. Accordingly, on the 1st of March two columns passed the Fluvia: the first under the orders of Augereau, consisting of 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry, marched by Bezalu, on Bagnols; the other with 4000 foot and 150 horse under Sauret, crossed the Fluvia at Bascara, without impediment, but after the march of a league was encountered by two Spanish divisions under Cuesta and Iturigaray, who, after a sharp contest, forced the French to recross the river. Augereau found no enemy till he reached Sernia, where he encountered a part

of the division of Vives, under the command of O'Farrill. The French took up an excellent position, and General Charlet was sent forward against the Spaniards, who adroitly led them off from their strong ground, until about three o'clock Charlet found himself in face of an entire division on the plain. Augereau, however, soon came up, and the engagement commenced immediately, when the French tried in vain to break the centre and left of the Spaniards; but soon perceiving O'Farrill advancing a body of cavalry on their left, to cut them off from Sernia, they hastily retreated, leaving behind them some prisoners. The following day Augereau heard of the check that Sauret had experienced, evacuated Bezu, and got back in all haste to the French camp. Scherer now came to take the command, and the rest of the month passed in mere reconnaissances.

The new General Scherer had a mind to signalize his command by a dash at Gerona; and accordingly, on the 25th of April, he ordered General Charlet to threaten from the Cerdagne some of the passes of the mountains that led down to the Spanish camp at Campredon, and while he himself moved on Bascara, Augereau on his right was to force the bridge of Esponella, and Sauret was to endeavour to get across a ford of the Fluvia, at St. Pedro-Pescador, on the left. It happened that Count Urrutia was making a general reconnaissance of the enemy's line at the moment the republicans put themselves in movement to effect these objects, and surprised the right and centre columns on their march. O'Farrill with 12,000 men was already across the Fluvia, and immediately sent forward the leading brigades of Arias and La Romagna to check Scherer's advance; but Augereau encountering his old adversary, the column of Vives, drove it across the river, and obliged one of the Spanish battalions to lay down their arms. The following day the French again advanced and cleared both banks of the river of the Spanish troops, who withdrew their advanced posts into their intrenched camp at Col d'Oriola. The Count de St. Hilaire, with the Spanish cavalry, took advantage of his opportunity to fall upon the flank of the column of Scherer, on their march, and force them back upon Bascara. Augereau maintained his attack against Vives, until the Spanish General moved a brigade or two from Bezu to threaten his rear, and the Marquis de la Romagna at the same time moving upon Crespa from Visert, the French made haste to return across the river. Sauret found himself stopped by Iturigaray on the left from crossing the Fluvia, but kept up a fight for six hours, without result, until the Spanish General sent forward some cavalry under Colonel Aquirre, across the ford of Torella, which induced the republicans to recross the river and march back to their camp near Rosas.

On the 25th of May two Spanish ships of the line and three frigates, with a dozen gun-boats, appeared in the gulf of Rosas, and the French General-in-Chief considered, not without reason, that it was the prelude to an attack upon his lines, and resolved accordingly to anticipate Urrutia's hostile intentions. The plan adopted this time was, that Augereau should force the passage of the Fluvia at Bascara, while Scherer led the main body across the fords lower

down the river at Valvaralle and Armentera. The first got across without difficulty, and deployed his troops in the valley of St. Anna, when General Arias opened a heavy fire upon the republicans from the Spanish heavy batteries during this operation, and at the same time sent a strong force with light artillery to cross the Fluvia at the ford of Arenys, to threaten Augereau's left flank; this had the immediate effect of inducing the French General to withdraw, and the Quartermaster-General O'Farrill immediately set himself in hot pursuit after him, while Vives and La Romagna pushed with the cavalry of Count de St. Hilaire across the river at Calabuix. Scherer fortunately escaped the danger he incurred from carrying the main force of his attack into this *cul de sac* at the embouchure of the Fluvia and the sea, which might have cut him off entirely from the rest of his army.

Charlet, still in command of the detached corps in the Cerdagne, although always under orders to assist the movements of the commanding General, attempted nothing all this time against the left wing of the Spanish army opposed to him, which at this period had been reinforced to 35,000 combatants, and therefore was not very assailable by the French division. That with such a force the Count de Urrutia should have been idle may excite surprise; but the negative merit not to be beaten by the republicans seems at this period to have been regarded as the *summum bonum* of all Spanish success: no wonder, therefore, that a complete inaction in both opposing armies in the Eastern Pyrenees now ensued, and this continued till July.

The Spanish troops in the Western Pyrenees occupied their own line of frontier at this period without molestation, having their right beyond the valley of Roncesvalles at Orbaigetta, their centre in the valley of the Bastan, and their left on the passes leading down into the province of Guipuscoa. The Count de Colomera had been superseded by the Prince of Castel-Franco, who had especial orders to defend every approach to the capital by way of Tolosa. General Moncey, on the opposite side, was preparing materials for the siege of Pampeluna, under the engineer Marescot; but having been weakened by an epidemic which destroyed many of his soldiers, and by a detachment of 2000 men whom he was ordered to send to La Vendée, he was for the moment unable to resume offensive operations, excepting by some inroads of no material consequences into the Biscayan territory. Lieutenant-General Crespo with the left corps d'armée of the Prince of Castel-Franco, occupied a position in Biscay, behind the river Deba, from its mouth at the sea to Bergara, upon the Camina Reale, but he was completely separated from the centre under Lieutenant-General Filangieri, who defended the passes into Navarre at Tolosa and Lecumbery. Crespo's position was principally occupied by 10,000 militia, but strongly garnished with redoubts and artillery. On the 28th of June five or six battalions, under the orders of General Raoul, marched from his camp at Yziar, forced a passage across the Deba at Sasiola after some resistance, and captured nine guns; he was now able by inclining to his right after crossing the river to crown the heights of Motrico that look down upon the sea. At the same time General Willot

with ten battalions made an attempt to surround the rest of Crespo's corps, but was not further successful than in forcing it back from Bergara into a new position at Mordregon, whence the Spanish General covered every approach on Vittoria.

General Moncey, in concert with this attack against Crespo, had prepared a very subtle movement of troops from the mountains of St. Estevan, in order to fall upon the rear of Filangieri, while another column under Merle should advance against the Spanish General from Tolosa, and Willot and Moreau were now brought down upon Lecumberry to act upon the flanks; but the Spaniard was not to be caught in his own mountains, and the bird was flown before the French columns effected this combined and complicated movement; Moncey, however, followed after the retreating corps opposed to his division across the mountains, and came up on the 6th of July with Filangieri, in a very strong position, his left resting on the wood of Osquia, and his right at Besio-Plano, holding Irurzun in front. The Spaniards, however, relinquished this post to the attack of General Merle after some hard fighting. The brigade of Digonet, in attempting to take some guns, was astonished by the sudden appearance of Spanish cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Horcasitas, who fell upon them; and Don Ventura Escalarte coming up at the time with his grenadiers, forced both Digonet and Harispe to retire. In effecting their retreat the French fell into disorder, but Willot hearing the firing, came up to their aid and checked the advance of the Spaniards at Gulina. The Basque soldiers of Harispe now recovered themselves, and returning to the attack fell upon the enemy, whom they routed entirely, when Filangieri withdrew his army to the left bank of the Agra.

The two Spanish divisions thus became separated, and Moncey turned back to fall upon Crespo. On the 12th the division of Willot was sent along the southern face of the mountain to attack the Spanish General in position near Salinas, while Raoul was ordered forward from Urreagui. On the 13th the left of Crespo's army, commanded by Baron de Triest, was attacked at the village of Ermua, and after losing thirteen guns driven all the way to Villareal. General Schilt, having been pushed forward, even entered into Vittoria on the 17th. Crespo, finding himself now cut off from this city, promptly retired upon Durango, where he found the French General Dessenin with an advance, whom he drove out, and continued his march on Bilbao. Moncey accordingly pursued after him in the same direction, on the 17th, by way of Orduna and Miravales, and the Spanish General finding himself pressed, made good his retreat to Pancorbo, relinquishing all his military stores at Durango, as well as those which had been taken possession of at Vittoria and Bilbao. General Gigonet was keeping watch all this time over the defeated wing of General Filangieri, who was strongly posted in the Col d'Ollarequi. Here Digonet attacked the Spanish General, on the 30th of July, and after some successes at first was effectually stopped by the battalions called "of Africa," under Don Augustin Gayaneta and Lieutenant-Colonel d'Alengua, who forced back the French, but

with the loss of both these distinguished officers. This latter act of heroism was much applauded in Spain, and the King, to reward this gallant troop, ordered every soldier to receive an escutcheon of honour to be worn upon his left arm, and the regiment to inscribe "Ollarequi" upon their colours. Moncey now left the Spanish General to fly as far as he could, and concentrated all his forces at the Puente de la Reyna, for the siege of Pampeluna, for which Marescot had already commenced his preparations.

Two months and a half of midsummer were now passing away, when the necessity of obtaining supplies for his troops, of which he had completely exhausted the Llobregat, obliged Scherer to make a forage across the Fluvia on the 1st of August. Urrutia had remarked that Scherer's policy appeared always to be to threaten his wings; accordingly, to prevent this, he sent a detachment to occupy the Col de Portell, through which the French must pass to attain the passage of the river at Bezalu, while he erected strong batteries to defend the bridge of Esponella. Scherer, becoming cognizant of this manœuvre, placed some battalions in ambush, who caught General Vives in the mountains and nearly demolished him. The Spanish Generals sent Cuesta across the river to sustain Vives, while the Generals Arias and La Romagna were ordered to establish themselves on the heights of Pontos and Armadas, the possession of which had rendered the French masters of every ford across the Fluvia. The Count de St. Hilaire was already in hot pursuit of the French cavalry, on the chaussée to Figueras, when Scherer brought up Angereau to retake these heights from the Spaniards, and having accomplished this he drove the Spaniards back across the river. Urrutia soon discovered that these attacks on his left and centre were only blinds to the real object of the French. Sauret had crossed the Fluvia at Villa-Roba, and had in the mean time driven back Iturigaray, who now sent to his Commander-in-Chief for reinforcements; but before they could arrive, the French had got together a quantity of cattle and 300 carts of corn, with which they passed safely back across the Fluvia. Urrutia now determined to drive the republicans out of the Cerdagne, and having surprised General Charlet's outposts, the Spaniards got possession of Puycerda after a cannonade of a couple of hours, and took 400 men prisoners.

It had been well known in both armies that the Marquis d'Yranda at St. Sebastian, and the French General Servan at Bayonne, were in communication with a view to negotiations for peace between the two nations. The Spanish King, with his army defeated in Biscay, and not very successful in Catalonia, was too happy to listen to terms of accommodation, which terminated in the treaty of Bâle, on the 12th of July, when the Republic was acknowledged by the Castilian Monarch, who ceded half the Spanish portion of St. Domingo in return for his conquered mountain passes. The Spanish Premier Duke of Alendia, minister and minion, brought about this treaty, and was complimented by the title (almost profane) of Principe de la Paz, in which character he is sadly known to posterity.



## 6. NAVAL WAR—ADMIRAL HOTHAM'S VICTORY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The navy of France was still very strong: without reckoning the ships in Toulon, there were forty-six sail of the line afloat at the beginning of this year, and the French government having as they thought nothing to fear from their enemy on the Italian side of the Alps, determined on a conjunct expedition to reconquer Corsica. With this object, on the last day of the old year, the Brest fleet, consisting of thirty-four sail, under Villaret-Joyeuse, in the midst of the peculiarly severe winter, stood out to sea to repair to Toulon. It had scarcely started before it encountered a gale, in which several of the ships were damaged. A second and much more tremendous gale overtook them on the 28th of January, after they had made about 150 leagues from Brest: many of the ships ran for safety into the French ports on the shores of the bay, while others got so injured, that on the first days of February all that could were glad to return to port, very much crippled, but with about 100 British prizes in tow which they had overtaken in their cruise, including the "Daphne," 80-gun frigate. On the 24th Admiral Renaudin, with such ships as were found seaworthy, in number about twelve, was again despatched to the Mediterranean, and these reached Toulon in safety on the 4th of April.

The British Mediterranean fleet of thirteen sail of the line besides frigates and sloops, under the command of Vice-Admiral Hotham, had been up to the middle of January in St. Fiorenzo Bay, but on the 6th they quitted Corsica for Leghorn. As soon as intelligence reached Toulon that Hotham was at Leghorn, the utmost exertions were made by the French government to get the expedition forward for attempting the recovery of the island. At length on the 3rd of March, it sailed with fifteen sail of the line and three frigates, having 5000 troops on board, under the command of Admiral Martin, with the Civil Commissary Letourneur. On their passage they encountered the "Berwick," 74, crippled and under jury-masts, which was immediately attacked by "L'Alceste" frigate, Captain Lejoille, who opened a broadside upon her within pistol-shot. Captain Littlejohn, though ill suited for a contest and notwithstanding all odds, punished the temerity of the French frigate by a broadside that is represented to have disabled her; but in the next fire of the Frenchman, a bar shot took off the British captain's head, and the first lieutenant ordered the "Berwick's" colours to be struck. The Vice-Admiral despatched the fast-sailing brig "Tarleton" to St. Fiorenzo with instructions, and followed himself with his fleet in the same direction, until by return of the brig he received information that the French fleet had changed its course, and was steering to the north-west instead of towards the island of Corsica, and therefore apparently returning to port.

Hotham had received intelligence of the departure of the French fleet from Toulon on the 8th of March, and the next day had weighed and put to sea. On the 10th the two fleets got sight

of each other, the French standing in for Cape Noli, which was followed and come up with on the coast of the Ponente off Allassio, on which Hotham threw out the signal for a general chase, which was promptly complied with. The French "Ça-Ira," 80, having run foul of another 80-gun ship, and got her own fore and main-topmast logged, the "Inconstant," 36-gun frigate, Captain Freemantle, ran up to her within musket-shot, and poured a broadside into her. The Vice-Admiral on this ordered the "Agamemnon" to attack the "Ça-Ira," when several French ships bore down to the protection of their disabled companion, and at the same time the "Bedford," Captain Gould, and the "Egmont," got into action with the French ships "Timoleon," 74, and "Sans Culotte," 120, the flag-ship of Admiral Martin, who had, however, removed his flag to the "Fripoune" frigate. The "Sans Culotte," by some mismanagement, got separated in the night from the fleet, and Admiral Martin again removed his flag from the frigate to the "Duquesne," 74. The "Illustrious," 74, Captain Frederick, and "Courageous," 74, Captain Montgomery, succeeded in bringing the French Admiral in the "Duquesne" to close quarters the following morning, when "Le Tonnent," 80, and "Victoire," 80, came up to his aid. In the encounter that followed, the two British ships got horribly mauled, but at length the Frenchmen passed ahead. In the earlier part of the fight the "Censeur" had come up to the assistance of the "Ça-Ira," and both these ships were now attacked by the "Captain," 74, Captain Reeve, and "Bedford," 74, which were so crippled by the French fire, that both were obliged to signal for assistance, and were towed away from their opponents; but the French ships could neither of them move, and Admiral Martin was obliged at length to leave them to their fate, when he sailed away. They both surrendered, but full justice was done by the British to the gallant defence made by their captains, Benoit and Condé. Vice-Admiral Hotham now taking in tow his dismasted ships and his two prizes, bore away for Spezia Bay; and the French Admiral proceeded straight to the bay of Hyeres, where his fleet, reduced to eleven sail of the line, remained at anchor under the protection of the batteries; and his flag-ship "Sans Culotte" having here rejoined him, he rehoisted his flag in her. The British Vice-Admiral was promoted to be Admiral for this action.

#### 7. STATE OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES ON THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE.

All ideas for the French conquest of Corsica were now for the moment put aside, and the newly formed Committee of Public Safety were desirous to push forward their forces across the Alps; as soon, therefore, as the troops were disembarked from the fleet, they were sent forward to strengthen Kellermann's army, who were reduced to a wretched condition at the close of the winter: 10,000 sick were in hospital, from the effects of fever, fatigue, and the want of essential comforts. The effective men did not count 20,000, but these occupied all the passes from Vado and Col di Tende to Mount St. Bernard. The allies, on the other hand, were taking advantage of

the time to put the fortifications of Cherasco, Asti, and Mondova in a good state of defence; and deducting all garrisons they had 50,000 men in the field, Sardinians and Austrians. The latter, under the command of Baron de Vives, occupied the Bocchetta, and watched Genoa and the French army from thence to the Tanaro. The Dukes d'Aoste and Montferrat in command of the former were at Suza and Aosta.

The armies of Moreau, Jourdain, and Pichegru are put down as counting altogether 200,000 men; and flushed with victory and success on every side, it might have been expected that under such commanders they would have been alert in an early campaign: but the Republic was at this eventful moment nearly bankrupt. Notwithstanding the deluge of assignats that had been issued, the armies were in want of clothing, ammunition, and supplies, and all that could be accomplished was the insufficient blockade of Luxemburg and Mayence, both of which places had been strongly garrisoned by the Imperialists, when the Prussians marched home after they had settled their terms of peace. But after the defection of so many of the smaller states of the Empire, the Aulic Council could add but small numbers to the forces of Austria, and therefore *en attendant* the result of what Great Britain might do for the common cause, it was resolved by the Imperialists on their side also to adhere to a defensive policy behind the Rhine.

The republican soldiers were naturally desirous to enjoy not only repose, but some of the blandishments of glory, and numbers now deserted to their family hearths, without any very stringent measures being adopted to get them back to their camps and quarters; and their officers, and even the Generals, appear to have taken advantage of the prevailing calm to follow the same course. It so happened that Pichegru was a native of Franche-Comté, the adjoining province to Alsace, where the Prince de Condé with his corps of emigrants was quartered at Muhlheim. The rumour reached the Prince that the conqueror of Holland was dissatisfied with the paltry payments he received in assignats for his high command, which did not in fact exceed 100 francs in specie per month; and that he was a dissolute fellow, giving himself to wine and women, and every degree of expense: negotiations were accordingly entered into with the grumbling General, through the means of a noble Alsatian, the Count de Montgaillard, and it has always been thought that the republican's fidelity was shaken by the offer of a marshal's bâton, the government of Alsace, and a considerable sum of money in lands, funds, and pensions. His subsequent conduct justifies these suspicions; but while events are in progress, and before the campaign commences, it is desirable to turn back again to the state of things in La Vendée.

### 8. PACIFICATION OF LA VENDÉE.

Carnot had the wisdom to see that the time had arrived when it might be possible, by means of a temperate proclamation, to win back the Vendéans to their fidelity. The discussions of Stofflet and

Charette offered at this time a ready means of making private offers to each leader separately, in order to bring about an accommodation with them respectively. The sister of Charette was selected as intermediary with him, and after a short period the chief was brought to consent to a meeting with the commissaries of the Convention at La Jaunais, on the 15th of February, and in three days an accommodation was concluded at Nantes, very favourable to the royalists; but Stofflet, who had not been consulted by Charette, was not disposed to come into any terms to stop hostilities; and while the Abbé Bernier was his counsellor, there appeared little chance of dealing with him: his bravery and conduct had rendered him very popular with the Vendéans, and he still retained many adherents. Stofflet addressed an arrogant proclamation drawn up by the Abbé, and called on the Angevins to rally round him, while he denounced Charette and all the parties to the treaty of Nantes as traitors to their religion and king. The troops under the command of General Canclaux were immediately ordered to advance against Stofflet, and came up with him before he had time to organize his forces near Thouars, and totally routed him. The chief and the Abbé escaped, and repaired to La Jaunais, but finding themselves too late there for any negotiation, they placed themselves at the head of such cavalry as they had, and rushed after their old colleagues, Sapinaud, Richard, &c., who had signed the treaty, to satiate their personal revenge upon them; and although these escaped in time, they left behind them their homes and their effects, which were ruthlessly plundered. Another old confederate, Prudhomme, was caught by them, tried, condemned, and executed. General Gros, with a detachment of troops, was sent after these firebrands, and drove them before him through Chalonne, St. Florent, and Brissoe. The royalists were for a moment successful, and in the conflict General Bardon was killed. Encouraged by this success, Stofflet attacked the troops who had taken St. Florent from him, but was repulsed, and only owed his safety to his horse and his deep cunning. At length means were found to open negotiations with the Abbé Bernier, and now convinced of the utter hopelessness of his friend's further resistance, the wily counsellor acting for him agreed to the treaty of La Jaunais, on the 20th of April. The republican government honestly fulfilled their stipulations to the people of La Vendée, but, notwithstanding their concessions, the attachment of the district to the royal cause and the intrigues of the British ministers led to such an intimate and continual correspondence between the insurgents and the emigrants, that about the 20th of May, 6000 of them again seized their arms and invested the town of Grandchamps, in renewed rebellion. Cormatin, one of the chiefs of the Chouans, had purposely kept free from the engagements entered into between the Count de Puisaye and General Hoche, at La Mabilais, on the terms of the treaty of La Jaunais, in order that he might keep alive the seeds of insurrection in Bretagne, but the vigilance of the republican General followed him up so closely, that he was surprised with some others and seized at the fair of Rennes. At the same moment

Charette and Stofflet again appeared on the field, reconciled by the influence of the Count d'Artois. The Chevalier de Silz, Duboisgny, Georges Cadoudal, and other Chouan leaders, at once took the command of the insurgents. The first immediately attempted to take Vannes by surprise, but General Hoche was on the alert, pursued, routed his band, and the Chevalier was wounded and taken prisoner. The latter advanced to the North as far as Fongeres, where General Humbert dispersed them. The Count de Puisaye had been for some time in England, to try to rouse an interest in the cause, and the effect of his exertions was at this time made known by the reports that had become current, of a considerable expedition being momentarily expected to land on the coast of Bretagne.

#### 9. BRITISH EXPEDITION TO QUIBERON—LORD BRIDPORT'S NAVAL VICTORY OFF ISLE DE CROIX.

An expedition had been for some time in preparation in the ports of England, which was intended to have conveyed the Count d'Artois and an army of emigrants to La Vendée, but the pacifications, into which the republican government had entered in the early months of the year with the chiefs of the insurrection, almost put an end to the design, and certainly delayed and changed the nature of it. However, the flattering accounts of the emigrants and a desire to do something to aid the royalist cause, induced the British ministry to persevere, and an expedition under the command of Sir John B. Warren, consisting of three line of battle ships and some frigates, having 2000 or 3000 French emigrants on board, with eighty pieces of artillery and 10,000 stand of arms, commanded by the Counts de Puisaye, d'Hervilly, and de Sombreuil, quitted Portsmouth about the middle of June. The Brest fleet was on the alert for it, but as soon as Warren sighted it he despatched a fast-sailing ship with the intelligence to Lord Bridport, who on account of the continued indisposition of Earl Howe commanded the British fleet, and who immediately responded to the call. The British and French fleets came in sight of one another on the 22nd, the British fleet keeping between the expedition and the enemy: in this way they proceeded on Isle de Croix, when in the afternoon of the 23rd the fleets came into close action. In about two hours and a half the "Formidable," Captain Durand-Linois, "Alexandre," Captain Guillemet, and "Tigre," Captain Bedout, struck their colours, when the Admiral Villaret kept his wind, and carried away his fleet for shelter between the Isle de Croix and the entrance to L'Orient. The British, now masters of the sea, kept on their course, and on the 25th entered the bay of Quiberon, considered to be one of the finest harbours on the coast of France on which to land an army. The British in this brilliant little affair lost thirty-one killed and 118 wounded. The loss of the French is unknown, but the casualties on board the prizes alone amounted to nearly 700.

#### 10. FRENCH EMIGRANT ARMY DEFEATED AT QUIBERON

On the 27th, at daybreak, the troops were landed and marched to

Carnac, where Georges Cadoudal had brought a division of Chouans to meet them. As soon as it was known that the expedition had arrived, the Commandant at Auray, a few miles distant, brought down some 250 men to the shore, but finding themselves unequal to prevent the disembarkation, they retired, but were set upon in their retreat by a body of Chouans, and narrowly escaped. The Count d'Hervilly took the command of the emigrants, and having distributed the arms and clothing among such of the peasantry as came to the royal standard, he found himself at the head of about 12,000 Frenchmen, and now advanced into the country in three divisions; the right, under the Count Dubois-Berthelot, marched on Auray, which the republicans abandoned; the left, under the Chevalier de Tinteniac, on Landevant; and the third, under the Count de Vauban, rested in reserve at Mendon. Having thus established a line of advanced posts, Count d'Hervilly determined to get possession of the fort Penthievre, situated on an eminence commanding the approaches to the little peninsula of Quiberon, which was garrisoned by about 600 men. To assist in this attack the British Admiral sent about 300 marines and some gun-boats, and on the 30th, after seven hours' contest, the fort capitulated. As often happens in these expeditions, a dispute now arose between the two leaders, M.M. de Puisaye and d'Hervilly; the one desired to advance into the country to rouse the royalists, the other desired to remain and fortify their landing-place.

On the other hand, the republican government was not idle. Tallien and Blad were deputed by the Convention to repair to La Vendée. Hoche, who had distinguished himself so much in the last campaign in the Vosges, and afterwards so narrowly escaped the republican need for military success, the guillotine, had been sent in the place of General Marins at the end of the previous year to command the insurgent province. He immediately withdrew all the military behind the Vilaine, and placed his head-quarters at Rennes. General Chabot, who commanded at Brest, was ordered to take post with 4000 men at Quimper, and General Valleteaux was marched to Ploermel, and every outlying detachment was called in to Rennes. On the 3rd of July Chabot was enabled to push 1500 light troops under General Josuet as far forward as Hennebon, when they fell in with the Chouans under Tinteniac, who received the republicans with firmness, and drove them back on Josselin; but having no artillery with him, in consequence of D'Hervilly's obstinacy, he could not hold his ground, and his Chouans were put to flight. Vauban, on information of this check, prepared to advance to the support of the fugitives, when he heard that Dubois-Berthelot had been in like manner overcome by General Romans, and the leader dangerously wounded; uncertain, therefore, on which side to move, he at length sent forward 2000 men to the assistance of the left column, but finding them also in retreat he fell back himself on Mendon, and thence to Ploermel. Hoche had advanced on the 7th of July to the attack of the royalists, in a position at St. Barbe, and forced them back, and thence drove them along the narrow shore leading

to fort Penthièvre. D'Hervilly failed the following day to dislodge the republicans from the position they had assumed, which effectually prevented all communication of the invaders with the interior, and penned them up in the narrow peninsula of Quiberon, but Hoche had not troops sufficient to make further head, and went back to Rennes to organize further proceedings. D'Hervilly at length listened to the representations of De Puisaye, and 4000 men were embarked and sent by water to Sarzean, to fall on the rear of the left of the republicans, and 3000 men were sent off in the opposite direction, to Gudel, near L'Orient, to fall on the rear of their right; and it was planned that after four days' interval the troops at St. Barbe should be driven back and an union effected at Baud, on the 14th. The former detachment had some success, fell on the troops of Romans, at Mussiac, on the 11th, and then marched round by the wood of Mollac upon Elven.

On the 15th the second division of the expedition under the orders of M. de Sombreuil anchored in the bay of Quiberon, and he brought the orders of the Count d'Artois that Puisaye should take the supreme command, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. The troops being however on march for the attack of the republicans at St. Barbe on the following day, the new general did not think proper to defer the march for the disembarkation of the new division. The number of troops on either side was about equal, but the position of St. Barbe had been in the interval carefully fortified, which gave the republicans great advantage. On reaching the foot of the hill, the royalists encountered General Humbert, who retired before them until four batteries were unmasked at pistol-shot, which decimated the assailants in front and flank. D'Hervilly placed himself at their head and led them to the charge, but fell mortally wounded, which so disheartened his followers that they retreated, leaving five guns in the hands of the republicans. Nor would the emigrant troops have been able to reach the fort, but for the timely advance of the Count de Vauban and the unremitting fire kept up by five British launches, each armed with a heavy carronade, which swept the shore and forced the republicans to give up the pursuit. The expedition of Tinteniac had a singular result. He received through some of the leaders of the insurrection an order from the royalist committee at Paris, to march on St. Malo instead of Baud, and was assured he would receive his further instructions at Coetlogan. Accordingly he altered his course and marched on Josselin, where he met and routed a republican detachment and proceeded to Coetlogan, where he took up his post in the garden of the chateau on the 16th. He was followed by General Crublier, from Josselin, and after short repose he was attacked and obliged to defend himself there, and in the first skirmish was struck down dead by many bullets, and his followers were all taken or dispersed.

Sombreuil's division landed on the 17th, and took post at the village of St. Julien, but discord of all kinds at once broke out among the troops; deeming De Puisaye a Chouan leader, the emigrants would not acknowledge him as their general. Desertion already

began to thin the royalist ranks, and treachery revealed itself even in the fort Penthievre, where some were in direct communications with Hoche and the republican leaders to surrender the fort. Two serjeant-majors who had deserted from thence arrived at Hoche's head-quarters, gave knowledge of a by-path among the rocks leading to the fort, and informed the General that a party of the garrison within it were ready to rise on the first appearance of the troops. An assault was accordingly ordered for the 20th, at eleven at night, when amidst the howling of a pelting storm General Hoche and the commissaries proceeded to scale the works. No sooner had they entered than the traitors within turned upon their officers and massacred them; and the Marquis de Contades seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, withdrew the garrison from the fort into the peninsula; there Sombreuil, awakened by the noise, joined him in the dark behind the village of St. Julien. Hoche did not lose an instant, but leaving two battalions to guard the fort, he attacked the emigrants before they could form, who gave way to the shore, where they were enabled to re-form under the fire of a British sloop, the "Lark," 24. M. de Sombreuil, however, saw nothing left to him now but to ask terms, for he had not the means to re-embark his men in the face of an enemy. He therefore came forward in person to Hoche, and asked him, in a desire to save French blood, that he might be allowed to embark. This was refused, and he then implored the General to let his poor followers go, and gave up his sword. This gallant young royalist was carried to Vannes, tried, condemned, and shot. Eight hundred emigrant prisoners are said to have been soon after put to death in a meadow near Auray, which is still held in high veneration by the people, who call it, "Le champ des martyrs."

As soon as the gale moderated, the British frigates worked up to the south-east point of the peninsula, and there received on board the Count de Puisaye and about 3500 of his followers, many of whom the Admiral afterwards at their own request disembarked again at L'Orient. The magazines and clothing for an army of 40,000 men were abandoned to the conquerors, who also captured six transports laden with provisions, that arrived at Quiberon after the fleet had departed. The broken remains of the Quiberon expedition took possession of the Isle Dieu, where they were shortly joined by the third division of the expedition, under the Count d'Artois in person. An effort was made by the insurgents under Charette to join it there, from the Sables d'Olonnes, but the activity of General Hoche prevented this. Several partial insurrections occurred at this time in Brittany, and it was thought desirable to put the little island that had been thus suddenly occupied in a state of defence, in order to contribute to keep the contiguous coast in a state of excitement and suspense, that would oblige the republican government to keep considerable forces for the protection of the adjoining coasts. But from this time the cause of the royalists declined, and after a few months the British government withdrew their forces from the Isle Dieu, and brought them all back to England. Georges Cadoudal



still however had some 2000 or 3000 Chouans in Brittany, Charette was enabled to seize a camp at Pallan in August, and Stofflet remained somewhere concealed, but not pacified.

#### 11. SURRENDER OF LUXEMBURG.

At the commencement of this campaign the fortified cities of Luxemburg and Mayence alone remained to the Imperialists on the left bank of the Rhine, and General Moreaux with the army of the Moselle invested the one, while General Michaud with the army of the Rhine invested the other. Field-Marshal Bender was Governor of Luxemburg, having under him a garrison of 15,000 men, with three general officers, and the place was armed with 500 pieces of artillery. It was summoned on the last days of January, and some batteries succeeded from time to time in throwing heavy shot into the place, but the guns of the fortress resisted successfully every attempt to raise batteries within their range. At the end of April General Hatry succeeded Moreaux in the command of the investing force, and after a fresh summons he determined on the construction of an ambulant battery of wood, that should be armed with mortars; an attempt from the garrison to destroy this machine failed, and at length a terrific fire was opened from it upon the city, to the great dismay of the inhabitants. The old Marshal, finding his supplies nearly exhausted, listened to the prayer of the citizens, and proposed a capitulation on the 5th of June, in consequence of which 12,396 men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, laid down their arms on the glacis of the place on the 7th.

#### 12. THE REPUBLICAN ARMIES CROSS THE RHINE—MANHEIM TAKEN.

But Mayence still held out. General Wurmser commanded the Imperialists upon the Upper Rhine, and established his head-quarters at Fribourg on the 23rd of August, having under him 79,553 men. General Clairfait, with an army of 96,648 men, defended the approaches by the Lower Rhine, resting his right on Dusseldorf, which was garrisoned. The Committee of Public Safety, tired of the inactivity of their armies, at length prepared for their entrance upon a campaign, and ordered Pichegru and Jourdain to get their forces together (counting an effective array of 144,450 men) to pass the Rhine on the 6th of September. It is considered that the most favourable point to select for the passage of a great river, in face of an enemy, is one where the stream turning sharp in its course, admits of batteries to give the greatest amount of their fire upon the opposite bank. In compliance with this principle, the point selected for this passage was Urdingen, where, added to these advantages, there is a small island in the stream very convenient to aid the construction of a bridge. The French armies had been cantoned along the left bank of the Rhine all the spring. Jourdain now assembled his forces opposite Dusseldorf, near the point where he was to cross, and Pichegru about Coblenz: the latter was to endeavour to form a bridge at the Weissenthurm, near Neuwied. The command in chief appears to have principally rested on the former.

who employed two distinguished officers of the artillery and engineers to prepare the passages. General Kleber, with three divisions, prepared to cross at Ürdingen, and Count d'Erbach, under Marshal Clairfait, commanded the Austrians opposed to him, and had raised very considerable works to defend any passage of the Rhine at this point, but there was a great deficiency of guns in them. Kleber ordered the division of Lefebre with the reserve under Tilly to march at eleven at night, on the 6th of September, and they got to the boats prepared for them at Eichelkampft, to cross to Rheinhausen, without any obstacle, and crossed over to turn the position of Count d'Erbach, who commanded the right wing of the Austrians at this point, and Lefebre was directed to fall down afterwards on the Angerbach, which Grenier was also to attain after passing the river at Ürdingen. General Championnet had been sent up the river Erft to get together as many boats as he could collect for crossing with his division opposite Dusseldorf, and every species of float had been obtained in much secrecy from the side of Holland, to pass the army at Ürdingen and Eichelkampft. The Austrians, on hearing of this concentration of French troops on the Angerbach, strengthened in haste the post they had established at Spick, with a view of disputing the passages of the stream. Lefebre therefore sent forward General Damas to the attack, who forced the passage, but was assailed by the Imperial cavalry at Angermunde, whom they repulsed by forming square, and the republicans at once established themselves across the Rhine at Angermunde. Grenier was much impeded by the banks, but at length passed at Ürdingen, and forced back the Austrians before him under Werneck, giving his hand to Lefebre. The engineer Dejean instantly established his bridge, and the whole corps d'armée with their artillery were across the Rhine on the 7th. General Championnet was much retarded in his passage, but at length got General Legraud across the river at the embouchure of the Erft to Hamar, with directions to advance from thence on Dusseldorf, on which he opened a heavy fire from the left bank. On this the Baron Hompesch, who commanded the town for the Elector Palatine, hastened to save it from destruction by an instant submission to the republicans, who accordingly entered it the same day. D'Erbach now finding the enemy master of the stream with Dusseldorf in his hands, retreated with all his force to Elberfeld, and subsequently to Schoelme, where he united himself with the corps of the Prince of Wirtemberg, and they continued to retreat across the Wipper and the Sieg. Jourdain having got his force pretty well together, sent forward Ney on the 8th, who came up with the emigrant corps of Rohan at Opladin, and drove them out of a redoubt in which they had been left to defend the passage of the Wipper. On the 10th the advanced guard under Lefebre reached Deutz, opposite to Cologne. On the 13th the French crossed the Sieg at Blankenberg. Wartensleben with his Austrian corps finding himself now exposed at Neuwied by this retreat, fell back from thence on the night of the 14th-15th September, and crossed the Lahn at Nassau. On this General Hatry advanced, and threw a bridge

across at Neuwied, by which he passed the divisions of Bernadotte, Poncet, and Marceau, to join Jourdain, who on the 20th established his whole force on the right bank of the Lahn, resting the right of his army on Nassau and the left at Wetzlar. Marceau was at once sent to blockade Ehrenbreitstein. Clairfait immediately quitted his head-quarters at Gros-Gerau, and calling upon Wurmser to send some troops to his aid, assembled the whole of the Austrian army on the opposite bank of the Lahn, but Quasdanowich was left on the Neckar to watch the movements of Pichegru, whose orders were to advance on Mannheim, and employ against that city the same threat of a heavy bombardment which had opened to the republicans the gates of Dusseldorf.

With a view of crossing the Rhine, Pichegru ordered General Dufour, with 12,000 men, to march from the blockading force at Mayence to meet him at Oggersheim, opposite to Mannheim, while he marched himself at the head of Beaupuy's division to meet them. On the very first summons, accompanied by the threat of bombardment, the regency of the Palatinate hastened on the 20th of September to deliver up the keys of Mannheim to the republican General, who placed General Dufour in charge of it, while he himself returned to the upper river to pass the stream at Kehl and Hunningen. The possession of Mannheim by the enemy obliged General Clairfait to quit his position on the Lahn and to cross the Mayn, which he did on the 22nd-23rd, crossing at Aschaffembourg, and calling Quasdanowich behind the Neckar, to defend the defile between Heidelberg and Wisloch, in order to secure a retreat on Heilbron. Jourdain immediately followed the Imperial army, and descending into the valley of the Mayn he on the 26th invested Mayence. In the financial difficulties of the Republic, the French armies were directed to subsist themselves on the enemy's country, and accordingly no supplies had been collected for their maintenance. Jourdain brought 60,000 men with him, and although the valley of the Mayn is a singularly rich one, it had already subsisted the large army of Clairfait; and a considerable Prussian force had still to be supplied at Frankfort, where they remained to protect the neutrality of that free city and its dependent territory. Moreover, the Austrians had in their retreat withdrawn all their magazines, so that it became a serious question for the besieging army, not only of food for the troops, but of battering artillery and the ordinary stores required for a siege; and above all, pontoons, or some means of crossing water, were wanting for the present position of the French armies. The army of Jourdain had now upon its hands both the siege of Mayence and of Ehrenbreitstein.

### 13. THE IMPERIALISTS RETIRE BEHIND THE MAYN—CLAIRFAIT AND WURMSER UNITE.

On the other hand, Clairfait's position was a very dangerous one had Pichegru followed up his occupation of Mannheim by offensive operations on that side; and, accordingly, the General sent pressing requisitions to Wurmser to move up to his assistance.

Pichegru, after much unaccountable inaction, drove in the Austrian outposts on the 23rd, and on the 24th General Dufour marched to the attack of Quasdanowich, on both banks of the Neckar. He drove back the Austrian division as far as Shoresheim, and after forcing them out of that village they barricaded themselves at Handschusheim and Wiblingen, on the two sides of the Neckar. General Bertrand, in command of one brigade, now attacked the Austrian position on the side of Blankstatt, and Davoust that of Wiblingen, on the left bank of the river. Dufour, with the brigades of Dusirat and Cavois, attacked from the right bank, at Schriesheim. Quasdanowich not only resisted these combined attacks stoutly, but had the good fortune to throw the column of attack on the right bank into such disorder, that many were driven into the river, and General Dufour was taken prisoner; Cavois at the same time retreating with difficulty on Fiedenheim. Davoust and Bertrand, informed of this disaster, thought it prudent at once to retire on Schwetzingen. These troops were eventually collected together into one corps, at Neckerau, and Desaix was sent to command it. General Clairfait, in hopes of meeting with the assistance he expected from Wurmser, had repaired to Heppenheim, where he was not far from Quasdanowich's field of action. The reinforcement from Wurmser of 25,000 men at length joined him, and he returned to his army on the Mayn to assume the offensive. Furnished with the Emperor's authority, he now cancelled the neutrality assumed by the free city of Frankfort, relieved the Prussians from the duty of protecting the city, and collected all his detachments in its neighbourhood, that he might act vigorously against Jourdain.

The republican General found himself placed in a difficult position—neglected altogether by Pichegru, who advanced no further to aid him with any portion of his army from the side of Mannheim, where the late repulse had given confidence to the operations of his adversary, Jourdain had on his own hands the difficult and important siege of Mayence, with his left wing altogether *en air* on the side of the Nidda. The commissaries of the Convention in this state of things called together the Generals to a council of war, which was held at Ober-Ingelheim on the 4th of October, to determine on some combined plan of proceeding, but nothing came out of this conference, for the two Generals remained exactly as they had done before; the one continued to cover the siege of Mayence, which was entrusted to Kleber, the other was left to threaten the country about the Upper Rhine, leaving Desaix's corps at Mannheim.

#### 14. JOURDAIN RAISES THE SIEGE OF MAYENCE.

General Clairfait, therefore, was now at liberty to mature his offensive operations, and on the night of the 10th-11th of October he crossed the Mayn with his whole army at Aschaffenburg, Stiegenstadt, and Offenbach. The same day he passed the Nidda at Bergen, and by moving forward on the side of Frankfort, threatened to envelope the whole army of Jourdain, cramped up in the corner between the Mayn and the Rhine. The republican Generals on this called a

council of war, and under a view of the impossibility of carrying on the siege of Mayence in presence of the army of Clairfait, or of successfully combating it with an army whose discipline had been seriously impaired by its neglected state, it was unanimously resolved to give up the siege and carry the army back across the Rhine. On the 16th this was executed in three columns. Kleber with the first marched away to Wisbaden, crossed the Lahn at Nassau, where he united himself with General Marceau's division, who were investing Ehrenbreitstein; these were to cross the river by the bridge which had been established at Neuwied. The other two columns moved by Limburg and Altenkirchen; the one crossed at Bonn and the other proceeded towards Dusseldorf. The Imperialist light troops under Generals Boros, Kray, and Haddich, followed on their paces, and harassed the retreating columns, but were not strong enough to avail themselves of an incident which, could it have been foreseen, would have delivered Kleber's column with 25,000 men into their hands. The republican General had sent orders to Marceau to burn, sink, or destroy every boat that he might find in his neighbourhood. The engineer officers charged with the execution of this order collected them all together on the right side and fired them. The consequence was that the stream carried them down to Neuwied and set the bridge on fire just as the troops moved down to cross it. The troops were in despair at the sight of this mischief, and uttered loud cries of treachery; but Kleber appeased them by assuring them, that if they could not cross the water, they should penetrate bayonet in hand through the Austrians, whenever they might come up. General Marceau rushed to the front with his pistols in his hand to blow his brains out for the blunder; but the General-in-Chief, cool in the moment of extreme danger, seized the pistols, saying, "Jeune homme, allez vous faire casser la tête en défendant l'approche de l'ennemi: c'est là où il vous êtes permis de mourir." Then turning to the officer of pontoons, he demanded how long a time it would take to restore the bridge, who replied, "Twenty-four hours." "Je vous en donne trente, et vous m'en répondrez sur votre tête." The coolness of Kleber, who, while he appeased the terror of his troops, prepared by every means of defence to repel any attack, saved the division, and the republicans crossed the river without any further difficulty.

#### 15. THE AUSTRIANS MAKE A SORTIE FROM MAYENCE AND RETAKE MANHEIM.

General Clairfait did not choose to be drawn away from the army of Wurmser by the retreat of Jourdain; but having considered how best to revenge himself on Pichegru, and to recover the ground lost on the Upper Rhine, he left a third of his army under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg, with Generals Boros, Kray, and Haddich, to defend the passage of the Sieg, while he with the rest of his army returned to the banks of the Mayn, at Wickert, on the 27th, and on the 29th placed himself in communication with Wurmser at Worms and Fleisheim.

Wurmser, as soon as he heard of the retreat of Jourdain, had resolved to attempt to recover Manheim, and had sent orders to his detachment on the Neckar to drive in the division of Desaix. This was done on the 18th after a sharp contest, in the midst of a thick fog, which prevented either party from knowing their relative strength. On the 29th Wurmser again attacked Desaix, drove his whole division completely into Manheim, and entered the *tête de pont* established there pell-mell with the fugitive republicans.

The French still held a strong fortified camp under General Courtois, blockading Mayence with 30,000 men; the works composing the lines were nearly four leagues in extent, and were in consequence difficult of defence against an army assailing them from many points. The Austrians knew every inch of the ground, and how it was occupied, and felt that a combined attack from gun-boats on the river, and a concurrent sortie, advancing along the lowlands, under Laubenheim, on the left of the French enceinte, would be the most effective way of disturbing them. Accordingly at six o'clock on the morning of the 29th the divisions of attack debouched from Mayence in three columns, while other bodies of Austrians crossed the river above and below the fortress, and a flotilla of seven gun-boats descended the stream under the English Captain Williams. On the left of the fortress General Neu commanded the attack, which drove out Courtois' division from the intrenchments at Heiligen-Kreutz, Hechstein, and Laubenheim, while Williams landed the men from his boats in their rear. The success of this movement exposed the flank of General St. Cyr, and left a space into which General Staader with his column penetrated, while General Schall, at Marienborn, being also surprised and outflanked by the advance from Bretzenheim of the column commanded by Mercantin, was driven from the field, and General Schmerzing was now sent by Clairfait right through the central position of the French, while a strong force of cavalry penetrated to their rear as far as Drays. This manœuvre completely separated the brigades of Mengaud and Renaud, who had already obtained some success against the Austrian attack at Guntzenheim and Monbach, but were ignorant of the retreat of the rest of the army, and escaped with difficulty on Fintheim and Spielsheim. In the confusion some fled into the wood of Monbach, and the Austrian cavalry, let loose on the fugitives, committed much carnage. It is said that Marmont, in command of a company, at this moment evinced a proof of his future eminence. He held his men in so firm an attitude against the assailing squadrons, that they were driven back in disorder, and he carried away his men in triumph. The loss to the French from this successful attack was 3000 killed and wounded, sixty guns, and all the magazines which had been collected with great trouble; and the fugitives from Mengaud's division carried such reports of the disaster to Treves, that there also the magazines were hastily abandoned and destroyed, and all the bridges across the Moselle destroyed or removed. Generals Schall and St. Cyr would scarcely have succeeded in reaching Manheim but for the division of General Beaupuy, who was sent to meet them in their retreat. At the same time that the

attack was made at Mayence, another was made by the Duke of Brunswick's corps at the bridge of Neuwied, which was also destroyed as well as the *tête de pont*; but his Highness could not drive the French out of the Isle of Weissenthurm, on the Rhine.

Pichegru, on hearing of these reverses, immediately came up to collect his army behind the Pfrim, which he did on the 31st of October and the 1st of November. As usual, he evinced no energy in pursuit after this first success, and while he allowed the flying enemy to rally and re-form, Clairfait also rested six days inactive on the field of battle; but at length, having brought up his divisions, he moved up and established his head-quarters at Worms, while his advanced guard was pushed into the Vosges at Rothenhausen. He had left the Prince of Hohenlohe near Stromberg, where, in a few days, he found himself in the face of the republican General Marceau, who had rallied the troops of General Poncet with six battalions from the camp at Mayence, and now drove back the Imperialists to Kreutznach, where they joined the reinforcement of two brigades, sent to them from General Burglach. Pichegru now set to work to organize some opposition. He brought the division of Beaupuy behind the Pfrim at Pfligheim, Ferino at Pfedersheim, St. Cyr at Wackenheim, Laborde at Harxheim, Renaud at Kirchheim; Poland was placed on the high road to Kaiserlautern, while Desaix was sent forward to establish an advance in front of the position at Dahlsheim. Jourdain was also in motion again on hearing of these events.

But Clairfait and Wurmser felt that their position was only tenable as long as Pichegru remained behind the Pfrim. The latter therefore sent Latour to strengthen Clairfait, who with 12,000 men and 4000 horse reached Mayence on the 9th, and the assault of the French lines was fixed for the 10th. On that day Wartensleben attacked the division of Renaud, who occupied the left of Pichegru's position near Mont Tonnere, and drove him back on Kaiserlautern. Nauendorf forced St. Cyr to retreat on Golheim and Grunstadt. Kray presented himself before Desaix's division and defeated him at Pfedersheim under the eyes of the General-in-Chief. Pichegru, finding the Austrian attack so vigorous and successful, withdrew his army to the Ellbach, occupying Franckenthal with his right and Turckheim with his left. On the same day the Prince of Hohenlohe drove back General Marceau from Stromberg into the passes of the Sohlen-Wald. Wurmser on the opposite side of the river bombarded Mannheim. On the 12th Clairfait carried Franckenthal in spite of Desaix, and on the 14th Kray advanced against Turckheim, and Nauendorf, sent into the mountains, drove back the enemy on Tripstadt. General Beaupuy disputed the ground bravely at Epstein and Ogersheim against Latour, but unsuccessfully, and the same day General Otto pushed a patrol to the very bridge at Mannheim, which he found deserted, and accordingly immediately occupied it. Pichegru retreated on the 15th to the Speyerbach, leaving the city to its fate, with its garrison of 9000 men, and on the following day established himself behind the Queich, resting his left on Landau and at Pirmasens in the mountains. General Montaignu commanding in

Manheim was crushed by the fire of the many batteries that Wurmser raised against him, but stoutly refused all offers of surrender, until on the 22nd of November, hopeless of succour from Pichegru, and finding his provisions begin to fail, he capitulated with his large garrison.

#### 16. CLAIRFAIT PROPOSES AN ARMISTICE, WHICH PUTS BOTH ARMIES INTO WINTER-QUARTERS.

Jourdain, embarrassed by the orders he received from Paris, at length, on the 26th, put himself in motion to relieve Manheim before the beginning of December, to which time he calculated it could maintain itself; and on the 28th debouched from the Hohenwald with 40,000 men in three columns, Bernadotte commanding the advanced guard. The French General-in-Chief attacked the Austrians behind the Nahe at Kreutznach on the 30th and drove them from that post, and Marceau was pushed forward to the Glann as far as Lauterech. But Clairfait and Wurmser now resolved to advance concurrently both on Jourdain and Pichegru. On the 8th of December the former advanced against Marceau, isolated in the mountains, drove him back to Kirn behind the Nahe, and took three guns from him. Jourdain now saw that he could not make head against Clairfait, and withdrew altogether from the Nahe beyond the Sohnen-Wald on the 13th of December, taking up a position between the Rhine and Moselle at Traerbach. To cover this retreat he caused Generals Marceau and Poncet to attack the Austrians at Salzbach on the verge of the Hohenwald, to disembarass himself of their annoyances; but on the 16th Clairfait attacked the French on the other side of the Wald, when he threatened a magazine which Jourdain had ordered to be formed, and drove back the republicans on Muntzfeld. Under these circumstances, and to the surprise of the French General, on the 19th a flag of truce presented itself at the outposts with an officer bearing the proposition for an armistice. The Austrians, fatigued by their very success, and having exhausted all their natural energies in its accomplishment, had found campaigning in the rough season so disagreeable a prospect, that to ensure themselves some repose they made this astounding proposition. Jourdain only waited to learn whether the armistice was to be common both to Pichegru and himself, and having secured this point, he readily came into the terms of it on the 1st of January, 1796, and proceeded to settle the line of demarcation between the contending armies.

#### 17. RETIREMENT AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL CLAIRFAIT.

Thus ended the command of the best and most successful of the Imperial Generals, whose brilliant exploits about Mayence closed the year's campaign. Recalled to Vienna, Marshal Clairfait received on his entrance to the capital such an ovation as has been rarely given to any proconsul by the successor to the Cæsars. The court rivalled the people on this occasion; but notwithstanding this, whether jealous of the unprecedented distinction shown to their General, or offended at the advice he offered, or the complaints he uttered, the Austrian council



superseded Clairfait in his command, by electing the brother of the Emperor, the Archduke Charles, a youth scarcely more than twenty-one years of age, to the dignity of Reichs-General-Feldmarschall, a post which gave him a more especial supremacy over all Imperial princes and commanders. Clairfait did not choose, under these circumstances, to resume his military command, but resolved to terminate his career of active service, though he remained at the capital, as a member of the Austrian council, and died in 1798.

He was a Walloon by birth—that is, a native of the Spanish Netherlands—and this brought him to be regarded, in the high circles of the German Empire, as a foreigner, or, at least, a colonist, and rendered the reception he received in the capital the more unprecedented. He is spoken of as serving with distinction in the war with Turkey; but he is first mentioned with honour in the campaign in France in 1792, where he already commanded a division. He was at Jemmappes, Aldenhoven, and Neerwinden, and in 1794 he commanded the detached corps opposed to Pichegru in North Flanders; but his character as the commander of an army can only be collected after he succeeded to that post on the resignation of Prince Coburg in 1794, and thence through the year 1795. He appears to have early shared in the dread which already existed of the overwhelming prowess of the republican armies, and would never go boldly up to attack them, but would rather await their advance against him. He had all the Austrian characteristic of being “slow to anger;” but he could not, nevertheless, permit himself to be trodden upon, and when once in the fight “bore it so that his opposer might respect him.” The German soldier is never backward in his following when his chief is enterprising; but at this period there was certainly, from some cause or other, a tameness in their onset which rarely terminated the fight successfully. It is probable that the relinquishment of the Netherlands, and the retreat beyond the Rhine, abandoning in succession the strong ground between that river and the Meuse, may have been prescribed to the commanding General by the Austrian council, and that Clairfait was not responsible for these results. But when Jourdain crossed the Rhine in his teeth the following year, the passage was with difficulty opposed, although the unexpected surrender by a Prince of the Empire of Dusseldorf may have upset all the preconcerted arrangements for the defence. Why, it may be asked, did Clairfait then omit to contend and check the enemy on the banks of the Wipper, the Sieg, and the Lahn, his lieutenant at this time holding Neuwied securely in his rear? The latter portion of this campaign must, however, redeem the character of Clairfait from all these shortcomings, and they afford a good test of that military estimation of him, that could class him as the most skilful of the generals opposed to the French in the revolutionary wars. He evinced very great promptness in leaping to the attack, as soon as he found Pichegru supine, and Jourdain with his hands full, and when by the reinforcements he received from Wurmsier, his army was now in the ascendancy. The only bright spot in the whole campaign was when he forced the enemy to quit the beleaguering of Mayence,

and cleared the whole right bank of the Rhine from every enemy. His short campaign in the Vosges, when he boldly insinuated his forces between the two French armies and separated them, would have been admirable, but that it was suddenly terminated by an armistice of his own proposing, in mid-career of success: showing either great want of resolution and diminished vigour in the man, or the old soldier, who had had too much experience of the discomfords of a winter campaign to taste them again. One could have wished a more brilliant drop-scene to this episode of a great commander, immensely beloved and valued by his soldiers and by his country.

#### 18. BONAPARTE DEFEATS THE SECTIONS AT PARIS.

The day of the 18th of Vendemiaire was too essentially military in its nature and consequences to be omitted from these Annals, though no war, excepting an internecine one, raged in the French capital. The public mind at Paris, always more or less in a ferment, was at this time peculiarly excited. The fourth year of the Republic was to be inaugurated on the 25th of September by a new constitution; the third that had already emanated from its fruitful fermentations; the Convention that had framed this, had decreed that at least two-thirds of the members of the legislative councils about to be created, should be taken from their own members. The department of Paris decidedly protested against this shameful attempt of their legislators to perpetuate their own power. The city divided itself into forty-eight sections, the better to exert their influence; each of which had a directing committee or club, to which were assigned distinct leaders, and each had its distinct journal to inflame and keep alive the general discontent. The royalist committee of Paris, which had still existed through all the past horrors of the times, finding the revolution arrived at this crisis, resolved to coalesce with the journals and leaders of the Sections against the government. The Convention, though they saw that they had lost the support of both the Jacobins and Royalists by their measures, abated none of their former energy, and determined to maintain their decree by force: they resolved to appeal to the army, and submitted their new constitution to its acceptance. Military men, accustomed to obey and to take their tone on most matters from others, accepted it on the recommendation of their officers. No time was in consequence lost in making this known and in bringing into effect the aid thus acquired; 4000 regular troops were immediately assembled, and constituted a sort of Pretorian guard around the palace of the Nation. The contest soon became openly declared between the Legislature and the Sections, and the latter resolved to meet under the protection of the national guards of Paris; these amounted to 30,000 men, but had no artillery; General Dancéau was placed at the head of them. The government gave the command of their army to General Menon, with orders to go and disperse the meetings of the Sections. On the night of the 12th of Vendemiaire (4th of October) the General with his soldiers en-

tered the Section Lepelletier, when it was in full conclave, and ordered the members to separate. By the address of the leaders Menou was mystified, and, entering into terms to spare the blood of fellow-citizens, retired from the assembly without effecting any thing. The government was indignant at this weakness or treachery, and instantly displaced him, giving the command with unlimited powers to General Barras, one who had been a chief instrument in all the changes that had occurred since the Revolution, and had distinguished himself as an officer at Toulon. When it was proposed to Barras by Tallien and Carnot that he should assume this command, his mind reverted to a comrade with whom he had served at that siege, and he replied, "I know the man whom you require to take the direction of the military force to be employed on this occasion: a little Corsican officer, on whom you may rely, and who will, I promise you, stand on no sort of ceremony." Bonaparte happened to be at Paris at this time; whether he was there in disgrace or on leave of absence is of little importance, but he was in the capital. A conscious sense of his powers had rendered him dissatisfied with the subordinate employments that he had held in the army, when others were mounting the ladder alongside of him; and as he was ready to push forward his ambition, as he might, either in France or elsewhere, he readily obeyed the summons he received. He found the Convention on his entering it in the utmost agitation, and measures of accommodation with the insurgents were already talked of. His manner was timid and embarrassed; but the clear and distinct opinions that he enunciated, and the energy and force of his language produced an immediate effect, and his firmness and decision at this moment saved the government. His career as an artillery officer was already known to Carnot and others, and his appointment was unanimously adopted. Bonaparte had made acquaintance in the capital with a young officer named Murat (a *destitué* in these violent times like himself), whom he now made his lieutenant, and sent him off at midnight with 300 horse to seize the park of artillery lying at Sablons. There he only just anticipated the messenger of the Sections who had been sent down to obtain them for the insurgent army. Bonaparte set himself, without loss of a moment, to fix upon places for these fifty guns, and to trace batteries for their protection, so as to command all the principal approaches of attack. These lines of defence extended along the quays between the Pontneuf and the Pont de la Constitution, and all the embouchures of streets opening into the Rue St. Honoré were laid under the range of some of these guns. In this position the commanders for the Convention awaited the attack of the insurgents; Bonaparte was, in the mean time, indefatigable in inspiring his men newly collected around him with confidence, and visited each battery successively to speak to the men with that decision which was part of his character, and which was always so well calculated to inspire confidence in those under him.

The expected attack took place at half-past four in the afternoon of the 13th of Vendemiaire (the 5th of October); a battalion of the

national guard, called "de la butte des moulins," established themselves on the steps of the church of St. Roque, and opened a fire of musketry upon a battery in the Rue St. Honoré, when Bonaparte happened to be present: the fire was returned by well-directed and continuous discharges of grape-shot and canister, which instantly cleared the whole street. In the mean time the insurgents had been successful at the Pontneuf, and hither General Danceau had brought the battalion of the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, and had given the command of it to M. de Sorclé, an old officer of the King's household. Bonaparte rushed to the battery he had established to flank the post at this bridge; and allowing the assailants to approach him within twenty yards, he then opened fire; the wretched citizens reeled under the fearful effect of the grape and round shot that decimated their ranks, yet still held firm under three successive discharges without flinching. With such wonderful endurance they nevertheless lacked either the resolution or leaders bold enough to rush upon the cannon at their recoil, and render them useless; but at length they could stand it no longer; they turned and fled. At the same moment the civil army was engaged in the Rue de L'Echelle, where it was soon dissipated by the fire of the artillery, and driven into the by-streets, scared and scattered. A shot even fell into the midst of one of the Sections in which an orator was holding forth, when General Danceau arrived to report the loss of all his posts, and having thus done his duty he at once fled for his life, leaving the unfortunate royalist Colonel, whom he had promoted to a command, to endure all its penalties. Poor M. de Sorclé was in truth the only victim of this day on the scaffold, and suffered with a firmness worthy of the cause which he represented in his person. By seven o'clock the victory was already complete at all points; at nine the troops of the line had carried the posts of the national guard every where, and by the next morning the authority of the Convention was completely established. General Bonaparte, as he was now become, continued in the command of Paris after the suppression of the revolt, and, it is said, in many subsequent collisions with the people, evinced as much humanity as presence of mind in maintaining the peace of this agitated community. An anecdote is preserved of him, that when trying to appease a mob of Parisians in a state of extreme agitation, a fat woman cried out, "These wearers of epaulettes, provided they fill their own skins, care nothing, though we poor die of famine." "My good woman," returned the General, who at that time was exceedingly thin, "look at me, and say which of us has fed the best." The joke brought the laugh to his side, and they all separated in good humour.

Thus, in a few short hours, an adventurer, poor and friendless, or at all events proscribed, who had vainly exerted all his little influence to obtain employment, whose funds were so exhausted that he could obtain no better charger than a jade of a cab-horse, to mount him for his command, on this his first day of victory, became in a moment a man of note in the capital of France. The brilliant reputation which this young soldier now acquired, gave him admission to all

the salons of the great and powerful. The condition of society in the once splendid scene of luxury and pleasure must indeed have been sadly changed and fallen, nevertheless it would appear that Barras, now become one of the Directory, had a somewhat higher refinement than his fellows, though with equal immorality and profligacy; his palace was the resort of women famous for their beauty, wit, and love of pleasure, and in this society Bonaparte became acquainted with Madame Beauharnais, the widow of the General who had been guillotined for the capture of Mayence in 1792. It does not very clearly appear upon what terms she was an *habituée* in the house of the Director, but whether the iron-nerve of the ruthless commander of artillery was softened by Josephine's blandishments, or that the dower of General-in-Chief of the army of Italy, so opportune to the conscious ambition of the young Corsican, overcame every other consideration; certain it was that the widow was wooed, won, and wedded after a very short courtship, and in the true spirit of a soldier's wedding, he forced himself from his bride in three days, and repaired to the south to take the field against the enemy.

#### 19. WAR ON THE ITALIAN FRONTIER—BATTLE OF LOANO.

But the army of Italy could not as yet behold in its horoscope the glory and fortune which awaited it in another year, under its new commander. While the army of the Alps under Kellermann remained inactive, he himself had been superseded in the command by General Moulins; but he had referred a plan to the government for acting so as to separate the Sardinians and Austrians, which at that time they disapproved. The month of August was passing away, when the Duke d'Aoste having information that the Mont Genève was ill guarded, determined to get possession of it. On the 30th he moved forward 3000 or 4000 men in several columns of about 800 men each, some from Houli, and some from Fenestra, with this object. On the first appearance of the Sardinians, General Valette set off from Briançon to meet them, and General Moulins came up from Bourg. They found one of the columns already in possession of the post of La Coche, which was not yielded without a sharp contest, but the whole expedition was ill planned, and the several columns, instead of attacking simultaneously, came up in succession, and were all driven back with a considerable loss, especially in officers, of whom four were killed and nineteen taken prisoners.

The Austrians and the Sardinians were not disposed to act well in concert, and General Devins, a German, was placed in the supreme command of the confederate army, which was thus posted,—the Count de Wallis occupied the left of the line at Loano on the sea; the right, consisting of Piedmontese, was placed to defend the slopes of the mountains above the sources of the Tanaro, and the centre was occupied by a division of both nations under General d'Argenteau. The camp was fortified with great care, and there were intrenched posts in front at Rocca-Barbena, Sambucco, San Bernardo, and La Planetta; the whole force collected to defend the position amounted to 40,000 men. The French occupied ground immediately facing the

Sardinian camp, beginning at Borghetto, a rocky eminence on the sea-shore which it commanded, and the heights were crowned with a curtained line to Succarello, where there was an old castle, and thence to a rock near Mount Sambucco, called "Little Gibraltar;" thence the line crossed the mountains at a camp called Mont Bernardo, down to Ormea. The works on the right, towards the sea, were garrisoned with 24,000 men, under Massena; Macquart commanded in the centre with 6000, and Serrurier the left with 5000. The mountains thus described are almost impracticable along their whole extent, and the French position was a strong counterfort of the lofty range, covered with intrenchments well armed and occupied. This formidable ground Devins had the temerity to assail. On the 18th of September he reinforced Count d'Argenteau with 2000 picked men, who marched for the attack of Succarello, while Wallis moved higher up, upon Little Gibraltar; both attacks were found too stiff a matter for the assailants, although the defenders of Succarello were said to be no more than sixty men; but the Piedmontese had, at first, a momentary success in their attack of Little Gibraltar. General St. Hilaire was, however, sent down from the camp on the top of Mount St. Bernard, to take the Imperialists in flank, and his march being covered by a thick fog, enabled him to surprise and catch the Sardinians at a weak moment; he came up and drove them by the bayonet quite out of the French lines. On the 25th General Miollis attacked and carried Garesio, and with his brigade drove the Piedmontese before him, and burned their camp.

On the 1st of October Scherer arrived to his command with a reinforcement of 11,000 men, but the mountains already began to be covered with snow, and movements of troops had become difficult. A change also occurred in the chief command of the allied army: Devins, a feather-bed General, who was disgusted with the failure of this attack, gave up the command to Count Wallis, who, content that the armies had now taken up winter-quarters, was wholly unprepared for any further offensive operations, and permitted great laxity of discipline; so that all his officers were absent at a ball at Finale, when, at six in the morning, on the 23rd of November, the cannon of the French recalled them to their posts. Scherer, a General of a different stamp, had not so considered war as to deem winter, even in the mountains, unsuited to the attack of his enemy, and having taken Massena into council, he formed a plan to turn the Austrians on the left of the allied position, and to throw them into the mountains. At break of day some gun-boats already occupied the shore between Loano and Finale. Augereau advanced against the three outlying works that formed the most salient point of the Austrian position, surprised and carried two of them; the third, called Castellaro, defended by General Roccavina, with 1200 men and two guns, made a better resistance, and the French were at first driven back, until Victor with his brigade was sent to attack Turano, the defenders of which dastardly fled away to Mont Carmelo. Labarpe and Charlet at the same time attacked D'Argenteau at Rocca-Barbena, and though General Charlet was killed, the Imperialists

were driven back on both flanks. Augereau now summoned Rocca-vina to surrender the Castellaro, who demanded permission to retire on Mont Carmelo, which was refused, upon which the gallant Italian replied, "It will take me less time to pass *per-là*," and accordingly he marched his men out of the redoubt, and cut his way through the brigade of Victor, to the surprise and admiration of the republican soldiers. General Thierny did not defend so well La Chartreuse, but surrendered the fort to Dommartin, after a little firing. General Wallis ordered up from Loano all the cavalry there, which at first checked Augereau's further advance, but Rusca opened some guns against them, and they fell into an ambuscade of infantry among the olive gardens. Loano still held out, but Wallis thought fit to withdraw his men from the fort, at three o'clock in the day, and retire upon Mont Carmelo, where he prepared to defend himself till he could hear of his colleague D'Argenteau. Scherer, on the other hand, leaving the Piedmontese alone for the present, turned upon the General in command, and sent orders to the chef-de-bataillon, Suchet, to move down from the mountains behind Mont Carmelo, to attack him. Massena had already pushed back D'Argenteau upon Bardinetto, where the General resolved to make a stand. The contest was serious, and Massena, charging himself at the head of his reserve, at length decided it by forcing the enemy back on Settepani and Melogno. Thither the retreating force was followed up by General Cervoni, at the head of three battalions, across most difficult mountain passes, so that D'Argenteau, finding no hill of advantage left him, fled for refuge, and did not stop till he reached the valley of the Bormida. Wallis heard during the night of the retreat of D'Argenteau, and forthwith gave orders that his whole army should retire and assemble between Gozza and Finale, whence he hoped to cover his magazines at Savona.

Massena, reflecting that the retreat of the Imperialists must be effected through the pass of San Giacomo, sent orders to General Joubert, though a fearful night of hailstorm, to push forward his best marchers to occupy it. At break of day Wallis sent forward to secure the heights of Pantaleone. This column, commanded by Pittoni, had as they thought cleared that pass, and under cover of the dark weather they thought themselves on the right track, but they had in truth wandered to the road of the Corniche, on which another Austrian column was moving, and the pass of San Giacomo not having been guarded as Wallis had ordered, was already taken possession of by the republicans. Suddenly a sharp fire of musketry was poured upon Pittoni's advance guard. The half-light and the uncertainty of their position appear to have struck alarm into the whole column, and in this dilemma the Piedmontese General called a council of war, and demanded whether he should cut his way through the enemy, or await the further orders of Wallis. The weakest solution of the difficulty was, as is usual in such cases, adopted, and they threw themselves temporarily into an old Spanish intrenchment that happened to be at hand, and which was sufficient to stop the republican detachment, which was not strong enough to storm it. At length

orders arrived from Wallis to retire on Finale, but in the mean time Massena had crossed the Apennines, and appeared in the rear of the Sardinians, who had by this delay lost their best chance of escape. Now there was nothing left for Pittoni's safety but the most ignominious flight; *saute qui peut*, by by-ways and highways, as they could, was the order of the day: forty-eight guns and 100 tumbrils were left behind, and a horrid carnage ensued. General Wallis himself had not been much more fortunate, for, retreating by the strand, he found himself flanked and crushed by the gun-boats, which at break of day had gained the strand, and now opened a heavy fire upon his column. General Dommartin also pressed close upon his rear. At length they attained a rallying-place in the mountains about Vado. Serrurier found in the troops commanded by General Colli a tougher opponent, and his attack of the left about Mont San Bernardo was delayed some time by their resistance; but on the 25th, Scherer, now easy about his right attack, sent Augereau with 5000 men to reinforce Serrurier, with orders to attack the Piedmontese vigorously, and force them down upon the Tanaro. Colli still held with stubbornness the pass of Garesio, and kept the French in check, though at considerable loss; but at length hearing of the defeat of Wallis, he hastily evacuated his position without even removing his guns, and fell back, on the 28th, to the intrenched camp near Ceva. Wallis pursued his retrograde march on the 27th to Dego, and on the 29th reached Acqui. The consequences of this battle to the Austro-Sard army were lamentable; eighty guns, besides those which were in position at the forts, and enormous magazines were the prize of the conquerors, glorious trophies of that great victory of Loano, which closed this campaign. The French obtained for themselves immense supplies of all kinds at Finale, Vado, and Savona, and were now masters of the heads of all the valleys leading down upon Turin, by the Orba, the Bormida, and the Tanaro, while they occupied in force all the summits of the Alpine ridge at Mont Genève, Mont Cenis, and the Little St. Bernard; and completely held in their hands the pass of the Corniche.

## 20. NAVAL WAR—ADMIRAL HOTHAM'S ENGAGEMENT OFF HYERES.

Commodore Nelson, in the "Agamemnon," 64, having two or three sloops of war with him on the look out, discovered on the 7th of July the French fleet of Admiral Martin, off Cape Melle, and instantly signalled it to Admiral Hotham, who got up anchor and sailed in chase of the enemy as far as the Hyeres, where he found them on the 12th, and forthwith threw out signal of battle. About noon the guns of the three rearmost French ships were brought to bear upon the British van, consisting of the "Victory," 100, Rear-Admiral Mann, "Culloden," 74, Captain Thomas Troubridge, and "Cumberland," 74, Captain Rowley. The fire thus opened was returned by the English ships with interest, so that at about two o'clock one of the French ships, "L'Alcide," struck her colours to the "Cumberland." Unaccountably at this period of the day the



Admiral made signal to discontinue the action, the only trophy of which, "L'Alcide," shortly after her surrender took fire, and in about an hour and a half afterwards exploded with an awful report, and sunk, carrying 300 of her crew to the bottom.

## 21. FRENCH SUCCESSES AT SEA AGAINST THE BRITISH.

On the 14th of September a French squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Richery, put to sea from Toulon, consisting of six ships of the line and three frigates. News of this escape was brought to Admiral Hotham on the 22nd, but it was the 5th of October before Rear-Admiral Mann was sent in pursuit with six ships of the line. On the 7th of October, Richery came across a convoy under the protection of the "Bedford," "Censeur," and "Fortitude," off Cape St. Vincent. The merchant ships were immediately signalled to disperse, and the French frigates pursued them and captured thirty-one of them; the remaining thirty-two under the "Argo," 44, Captain Burgess, got away. The French line of battle ships now pressed hard upon the English ships of war, and the "Censeur" (jury-rigged and armed *en flûte*), after a contest of forty minutes, struck to three of the French 74's; the remainder of the British squadron effected their escape.

Towards the latter end of September the Chef-de-Division Gantheaume, with the "Montblanc," 74, and five frigates, also escaped from Toulon, and steered for the Levant, when, in spite of many chances against him, he reached Smyrna, where "Le Sensible," Captain Blondeau, had been some time blockaded by Captain Samuel Hood, in the "Aigle," frigate, 38. Captain Gantheaume in his cruise, which extended to the Dardanelles, captured a great many English, Russian, and Neapolitan merchant vessels, and at length returned in safety to Toulon in the first days of February.

Early in August a fleet of Russian ships, consisting of twelve sail of the line, came out of the Baltic, and associated itself with a British squadron under Vice-Admiral Duncan, which had been placed off the Texel to watch the Dutch fleet, then in the hands of the French, but the combined fleets during the whole remainder of the year found no enemy to encounter in the northern seas.

## 22. SINGLE ENGAGEMENTS AT SEA.

On the 5th of January in the West Indies the "Blanche," 32, Captain Faulkner, discovered off the harbour of Point-à-Petre, Guadaloupe, the French frigate "Pique," 36, Captain Conseil. In the middle of the night the two vessels ran foul of each other, and the "Pique" made several attempts to board, which were successfully repulsed by the crew of the "Blanche." In the subsequent action, while the ships continued locked, Captain Faulkner fell by a musket shot through the heart, and Lieutenant Watkins then took the command, and the lashings having at length broke, both ships paid off before the wind; the French ship poured such a stream of musketry upon the "Blanche," that it gave great annoyance to the British

crew, who at length brought to bear the two after guns, which were fired with such destructive effect through the stern frame that the mainmast of the French frigate fell over the side, and as her fore and mizenmasts had already fallen, she now called aloud for quarter; every boat on board the "Blanche" had been destroyed in the action, and therefore Lieutenant David Milne and ten seamen swam to the "Pique" to take possession of her. At daylight the "Veteran," 64, Captain Kelly, joined company, and took the frigate in tow. The "Blanche" lost, besides her captain, a midshipman and six men killed and eighteen wounded; the "Pique" had seventy-six killed and 105 wounded.

On the 13th of March the "Lively," frigate, 32, Captain Burton, saw three strange sail off Ushant, and gave chase. The largest of the three, "Tourterelle," 28, Captain Montalau, tacked and stood towards the British frigate. A close action ensued, which lasted for three hours, when the "Tourterelle," having lost her topmasts and her mainmast, hauled down her colours. The French vessel had sixteen officers and men killed, and twenty-five wounded: the British had only two killed, and an officer and a seaman wounded. The consort frigates became prizes to the "Lively" a few days afterwards. On the 10th of April the "Astrea," frigate, 32, Captain Lord Harry Paulet, belonging to Rear-Admiral Colpoys's squadron, chased "La Gloire," 36, Captain Beens, and brought her to close action, and after about an hour's cannonade, compelled the French frigate to haul down her colours. She had two consorts in company, "La Gentille" and "La Fraternité," the latter of which escaped, but the former became a prize to the British 74 "Hannibal," of the same squadron, on the 11th. On the 9th of May the look-out frigates in Gonville Bay, Isle of Jersey, sighted thirteen sail of French vessels running along the French shore to the southward. The "Melampus," Captain Richard Strachan, with the boats of four frigates under his command, attacked the convoy, who ran under the protection of their land-batteries, but the crews soon abandoned their ships, and the boats boarded, and took possession of the whole convoy, including two gun vessels; ten vessels laden with ship-timber, powder, cannon, cordage, and other naval stores became prize to the assailants, who lost two killed and seventeen wounded in the action. The same enterprising commander captured subsequently, on the 17th of July, six French vessels laden with military stores, and an armed brig, "Vésuve," with four guns and sixty men. On the 17th of May the British frigate "Thetis," 36, Captain the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, stationed off Chesapeake Bay, with the "Hussar," frigate, 28, Captain John Beresford, to intercept some French store-ships, known to be in one of the harbours of the United States, discovered at daybreak five sail standing to the north-west, evidently armed *en flûte*. These ships, as soon as they found they were perceived, hoisted French colours and awaited the approach of the two British frigates, who advanced and opened their broadsides as they got near. In half an hour the "Hussar" had compelled two out of the five to quit the line, and make sail to the

eastward; the remaining three, after a contest of an hour and a quarter, hauled down their colours to the "Thetis." The "Hussar" took one of the other two, the "Raison," but the fifth effected her escape. On the 25th the sloop of war "Thorn," 16, Captain Otway, on the Windward Islands station, fell in with and captured, after a spirited action of thirty-five minutes, the corvette "Courrier National," 18. This was a well contested match, and the loss sustained by the French ship showed that her officers and men had done their duty, and contested bravely.

On the 30th of May a squadron, consisting of the flag-ship "Royal Sovereign," 100, and four 74's, with three frigates, under the Honourable Admiral Cornwallis, sailed on a cruise off Ushant. On the 8th of June they came in sight of a French squadron of six sail, under Rear-Admiral Vence, who with a numerous convoy in charge was on his return to Brest. The British chased, and captured eight of the French convoy laden with wine, but the rest gained their anchorage in Calais Roads. As soon as Admiral Vence's escape was known at Brest, nine sail of the line, two 50-gun ships, and some frigates, sailed to revenge themselves upon Admiral Cornwallis. On the 12th, off Isle Croix, M. Villaret with a squadron fell in with Admiral Vence. Accordingly a fleet of twelve line of battle ships and eleven frigates were collected under the orders of Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, Rear-Admirals Kerguelen and Bruix, and two representatives of the people. On the 16th the fleets came in sight of each other, and Admiral Cornwallis appeared a certain victim. At daylight on the 17th the French fleet came up very fast upon him in three divisions. At nine o'clock the French vanship opened fire upon the "Mars," who promptly returned it. About noon the cannonade became general, and in about an hour and a half the "Mars" was observed in such a crippled state that the French pushed forward to seize her, when Cornwallis interposed the powerful broadside of his flag-ship and saved her from molestation. The firing continued partially till six or seven in the evening, when the French ships shortened sail and stood away, so that at sunset they were nearly hull down in the north-east.

On the 27th of June the British frigates "Dido," 28, Captain Torry, and "Lowestoffe," 32, Captain Middleton, came across the French frigates "Minerve," 40, Captain Perrée, and "Artémise," 36, Captain Charbonnier, both, by a singular coincidence, looking out for the fleets of their respective nations. At half-past eight in the morning the French opened fire upon the British. The "Dido," however, reserved her fire until she got close under the "Minerve," from whence she commenced a steady and well-directed cannonade upon her adversary. The French ship, galled by her fire, suddenly bore up with yards squared in order to decide the contest by running down her inferior antagonist with her superior weight and impetus. Captain Torry, with wonderful coolness and skill, allowed the yards to touch, when he calmly put his helm apart to avoid a blow that must have sent him to the bottom; and now received the "Minerve's" starboard bow on his larboard quarter, but nevertheless the shock

was so severe that the Frenchman's bowsprit became locked in the rigging of the "Dido." An immediate attempt on the part of the French to board was successfully repulsed, although for a quarter of an hour the "Dido" was literally hanging on the "Minerve's" bowsprit, which at length gave way from the weight, carrying with it the foremast and mizenmast, together with the gaff that carried the colours. The signal-man, Henry Barling, with characteristic bravery, instantly got a union-jack to the stump of the mast and nailed it there: the mutual cannonade recommenced with vigour as soon as the ships got clear. The "Artémise" was not so difficult to be satisfied as the "Minerve," and accordingly the "Lowestoffe" found herself at liberty to come to the "Dido's" assistance. After a contest of three hours and a half the "Minerve" struck to the "Lowestoffe," for the "Dido" was in as helpless a state as her antagonist, and could not take possession. The "Artémise" got away. The French vessel lost twenty killed and wounded, and among the latter her gallant captain. The two British vessels lost six killed and twenty wounded. On the 22nd of August a small British squadron cruising in the North Sea, off the coast of Norway, discovered two Dutch frigates, "Alliance," 36, and "Argus," 36, with the cutter "Vlugheld," 16. The wind permitted the British frigate "Stag," 32, Captain Joseph Yorke, to close with the "Alliance," and after about an hour's contest obliged her to haul down her colours. The "Argus" with the cutter got safe into the harbour of Egeroe.

In the month of September the "Southampton," 32, Captain Macnamara, who had been left with a sloop of war in company to watch the port of Genoa, having now occasion to send away the sloop, the French frigate "Vestale," 36, with three consorts, took advantage of the circumstance to run for the harbour of Toulon. Captain Macnamara immediately crowded sail after the squadron, and fired a broadside into the "Vestale," who returned the fire, and after thirty-five minutes it brought down the "Southampton's" mizenmast; on which disaster the French vessels made all sail and got away; but the republican commander deserved to have been cashiered, for, with the odds in his favour, he might have easily captured the British frigate. A gallant action of the British hired cutter "Rose," 8, with three privateers demands notice, since the determined gallantry of her commander was very remarkable. With a king's messenger and a cargo of specie on board, Lieutenant Walker thought it safest to become himself the assailant. He first tried to run down one of the three, but failing in this he poured in such destructive broadsides upon her from his small guns that she at once submitted. He then stood after the other two, and with well-directed fire sent one of them to the bottom, but the third escaped. The lieutenant with some difficulty secured the one that had struck to him, and carried his prize safely into Bastia.

## 23. RESIGNATION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL EARL HOWE, K.G.

Richard Scrope Howe was the second son of Lord Viscount Howe

and Charlotte Kielmansegge, the eldest daughter of the Countess of Darlington, whom Horace Walpole asserts to have been a daughter of King George the First; so that this gallant Admiral had the blood royal in his veins. He was born in 1725, and left Eton school at the age of fourteen to go out with Commodore Anson on his voyage round the world. In 1745, when he was in command of a sloop of war, he shared in a fight with two French frigates carrying arms for the service of the Pretender, in which he received a severe wound from a musket ball in the head. At the commencement of the Seven Years' War, he was stationed off the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in Admiral Boscawen's squadron, when seeing two French ships of war in the offing he carried a press of sail to reach them, and endeavoured to persuade the "Alcide" to yield to a manifestly superior force, as war was already declared, but the commander, M. de Hocquart, refused, saying to him with a shrug, "*Commencerz, s'il vous plait.*" Howe replied, "*S'il vous plait, Monsieur, je commencerai,*" and immediately opened fire upon him, and after an action of about an hour the French ship struck to Captain Howe. It is related in proof of his coolness in danger, that on one occasion he was awakened in the night by the lieutenant of the watch informing him that the ship was on fire. "If that be the case," said he, "we shall soon know it." As he was putting on his clothes the officer returned, saying, "You need not be afraid, Sir, the fire is extinguished." "Afraid!" says the captain, "what do you mean by that?" Then, looking the lieutenant full in the face, he added, "How does a man feel, Sir, when he is afraid? I need not ask how he looks." In 1757, the battered fort of Aix surrendered to him and Admiral Hawke. In 1758 he was appointed Commodore of a force to annoy the enemy's coast, and on the 6th of August he destroyed the basin of Cherbourg. The unsuccessful affair of St. Cass followed, in which his courage, skill, and humanity were most conspicuous. In the same year he succeeded his elder brother (killed in America) in the titles and property of his family. In the following year Lord Howe captured the "Thésée," and the "Formidille," and on being presented to George II. on this occasion his Majesty said, "Your life, my Lord, has been one continued series of services to your country." In 1770 he was promoted to be Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. In 1782 he was appointed to command the fleet fitted out for the relief of Gibraltar, and most successfully accomplished the important objects of that expedition. The fortress was effectually relieved, the hostile fleet baffled, and the ardent hopes of his country realized and gratified. Respecting the relief of Gibraltar it has been justly said "that foreign nations acknowledge its glory, and every future age will confirm it." In January, 1783, he was nominated first Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1787 he was advanced to the rank of Admiral. In the year 1788 he was raised to the dignity of an Earl of Great Britain. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, he was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet. In 1794, having his flag on board the "Royal George," 100, he went to sea to look after the Brest

fleet, and on the 1st of June gained his glorious victory over the republican fleet of Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, for which he was immensely honoured. Lord Howe was in the 72nd year of his age when he obtained his great naval victory; he continued to command the Channel fleet till this year, when ill health obliged him to resign. In the year 1797 he was invested with the order of the Garter, and is almost the only naval officer of eminent distinction who ever honoured that ancient Order of Knighthood by becoming one of its companions. He died in September, 1799.

Earl Howe was in person tall and well proportioned, with strongly marked and dark features, and a singularly harsh expression. His mind was strong with a correct judgment; he was a man of singular taciturnity, but of cool and steady valour. His reserve, united with great bravery, gave rise to the saying, that "Howe never made a friendship but at the mouth of a cannon." His chief characteristic as a leader was his patient endurance under adverse events as well as in danger. He was universally acknowledged as the first sea-officer of his time, and was a sailor of consummate seamanship. The last act of his life was exerted to compose a melancholy mutiny in his own noble profession. It was the peculiar lot of this Admiral to bring back to loyalty in harbour the fleet he had conducted to glory on the sea. His experience and judgment suggested to government the best measures to be pursued in the alarming insubordination in the fleet that in 1797 distressed and terrified the nation; while his personal influence powerfully helped to recall the misguided seamen to their former career of duty and obedience.

#### 24. COLONIAL WAR—INSURRECTIONS IN THE OLD FRENCH WEST INDIAN ISLANDS.

In the earliest days of this year eight or ten sail of transports, having 3000 men on board, under the protection of the French ship of the line "*L'Hercule*," 74, "*L'Astrée*," 36, and another armed ship or two that had sailed from Brest in November, arrived at Guadaloupe after a most narrow escape of capture from the British cruisers. The arrival of this important reinforcement inspired Victor Hugues to plan a general revolt against the British government in the West Indies, by availing himself of the advantage he thought the French possessed by having enfranchised the black slaves. He took the island of St. Eustatia without difficulty, and sent emissaries into St. Lucia to prepare the people of colour for a simultaneous revolt with the disaffected French in that colony. The insurrection broke out so suddenly that the British garrison was overpowered, but effected their retreat into the fort of Morne Fortune. On the 22nd of April Brigadier-General Stewart in command advanced against the republicans in Soufriere, where they had collected together a considerable force; these on his approach attacked the British, who after a contest of some hours were obliged to retire. On the 15th the French made themselves masters of the Vigie, and threatened the garrison in the Morne; who, on this, determined to withdraw from the island,

which they evacuated on the 19th of June, and embarked undisturbed in their ships.

The island of St. Vincent had belonged to the French in the early part of the century. When they first settled there two races existed in the island, one the red native Indian, and the other the black emancipated negroes; all called equally Caribs. The internal strife between these people had been continuous, and had been taken advantage of by the conquerors; but they were always hostile to the whites, and had risen in insurrection against the British soon after they came in possession of the island at the Peace of Paris. A Caribbee chief, named Chatoye, now commenced a revolt on the 10th of March under the instigation of emissaries employed there by Victor Hugues, who sent them provisions, arms, and ammunition; and on the 13th the revolted got possession of Dorsetshire Hill, which overlooks and commands Kingston, the capital of the island. Governor Seaton at once determined to dislodge them, and at midnight a detachment of militia, volunteers, and negroes, with a few troops and sailors, led by Captain Campbell of the 46th, and Captain Skinner of the "Zebra," drove them from the hill with the loss of their chief, who fell in single combat with Major Leith. After several intermediate contests this post was again taken from the British on the 7th of May, who retook it after a bloody conflict on the following morning. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Vaughan, now determined to make a prompt and vigorous effort to crush the revolt, and the 46th and 60th regiments with militia and guns under Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton advanced against the enemy at Vigie on the 8th of June. The post was taken with sixty French soldiers in garrison, but the Caribs contrived to get away. On the 13th Leighton advanced into the Caribbee country and took possession of Mount Young, and on the 18th of September Victor Hugues himself with a military force landed at Owia Bay, at the northernmost point of the island. The Governor immediately recalled Colonel Leighton, and assembled his force around Kingston. The Commander-in-Chief sent over forthwith from Martinique the 48th, 54th, and 59th regiments under Major-General Irving to assist in the defence of St. Vincent's, and after a sharp contest at the Vigie on the 1st of October, the enemy abandoned the post, when the Caribs, deserted by their French allies, were compelled to surrender.

In the island of Granada the insurrection commenced on the 2nd of March, and so completely by surprise that the Governor was made prisoner and many of the English inhabitants were murdered in their beds at Charlottetown. Urgent demands for succour having been despatched to Martinique, Brigadier-General Lindsay arrived with a reinforcement on the 12th of March and assumed the command. He marched with all the force he could collect without delay against the rebels, whom he found established at Belvidere, and carried the first outposts; but being delayed by the severity of the rains from following up his success for some days, the General fell into a fever, and in a delirium put an end to his existence. The rebels were accordingly enabled to maintain their position until the 2nd of April,

when a reinforcement of 1250 men arrived at the island. An attempt was made on the 8th to assault the position of the rebels at Belvidere, but the attack failed, and 100 men and three officers were killed, fifty were also made prisoners, who were brutally put to death the morning after this disastrous affair. On this matters again rested until Brigadier-General Nicholls was sent over in command in the middle of the same month: then the rebels, cooped up in a corner and scantily provisioned, were soon distressed by the prudence and wise precautions of this General, so that before the end of June their leader Fedon having been routed with considerable slaughter by a detachment under Lieutenant Hinnuber of the 68th, matters settled down again to tranquillity, though it was the end of the year before all the attempts at rebellion were quite extinguished.

On the 5th of June a republican party landed near Pagua in the island of Dominica, and 160 French planters in Callihant quarter rose in insurrection against the English planters, but these were at length roused to action and flew to the fight with a praiseworthy alacrity and courage. By the judicious dispositions of Captain Bathe, the hostile bodies were kept apart until the 17th and 19th of June, when the rebels were compelled to ask for terms. Victor Hugues however meditated, as the most serious blow against the British in the Antilles, the recovery to his country of the island of Martinique. On the 7th of December a force of 160 men of all colours, with four field-pieces and 700 stand of arms, secretly disembarked in the bay of Vunelain. The Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor, immediately attacked them, and though he was himself wounded in the encounter he collected all the troops and the militia, and chased the invaders into the woods, where he put them to the sword. Nevertheless, though his attempts in the end all failed, Victor Hugues had good reason to pride himself in the vast extent of depredation which he had occasioned with such insufficient means against the powerful enemy of his country, and on the facility and trifling loss with which he had effected it in spite of the presence and strength of the British squadron and cruisers in the Caribbean seas.

## 25. MAROON WAR IN JAMAICA.

To add to the troubles of Great Britain in her colonies at this period, a Maroon rebellion, in which Victor Hugues had probably no part, broke out in the colony of Jamaica. When that colony was conquered from the Spaniards by Oliver Cromwell, the enslaved Africans had retreated to the mountains, insisting that the lands they occupied were their own; they proved a sad thorn in the side of the English from the beginning, and in 1773 had so increased in numbers that means were taken for their suppression; but these failing, they were left free, with certain privileges, among which was a remarkable stipulation, that they were not to be punished by the judicature of the island, but were to be delivered up to their own people to be tried for any offence or crime. In the month of July,



this year, two Maroons, detected in a theft, were apprehended, tried by a colonial jury, and sentenced to be flogged; they appealed to the government, but receiving no redress, they sent a written defiance and took up arms. The militia were accordingly called out, but it so happened that at this very juncture the 83rd regiment (almost the only King's troops in the island) had been sent away to St. Domingo. The Governor, Lord Balcarres, with the promptitude and decision of experience, knew that the trade-winds must so retard the progress of the transports in which they had sailed, that he might possibly overtake them by sending a fast boat furnished with oars. His Lordship was not mistaken, and it came up with them on the 2nd of August, and diverted their course to Montego Bay, where the soldiers landed on the 4th, under the command of Colonel Fitch; a small detachment of the 62nd regiment had been previously collected, and about 300 mounted dragoons, under Colonels Sandford and Walpole, had been got together in Montego Bay, where Lord Balcarres determined to command the troops in person. The Maroons were staggered at these preparations, and many of the older men surrendered on the 11th to the Governor's mercy; the remainder, however, kept the bush: Colonel Sandford, sent after them with some of the 18th light dragoons, fell into an ambush, and was killed, with several of his officers and men, together with Colonel Guillemon, the Colonel of the militia. One of them, Mr. Barret, was saved by the devotion of his negro follower, who, seeing a Maroon taking aim at his master, stepped before him and received the shot, but happily the devoted fellow's wound was not mortal. On the 18th of September, Colonel Fitch was sent against the Maroons with a detachment of the 83rd, but was received by a volley of musketry from the woods, which struck him down to the ground. This unfortunate officer's corpse was found a day or two afterwards with his head separated from his body and entombed in his own bowels! The Colonial Assembly, irritated at these misfortunes, resolved to send to Cuba for a hundred of their blood-hounds with some Spanish huntsmen in company to set them on; and Colonel Walpole was now placed in command of the troops. His exertions begun soon to be crowned with success before the arrival of the dogs, who nevertheless landed on the 14th of December. The presence of these dreaded animals had a powerful and very salutary effect upon the rebel Maroons, who immediately came to terms, but were so little disposed to fulfil them, that Walpole took the field again, carrying the Spanish dogs in rear of the army. The effect was immediate; a supplication for mercy from the Maroons forthwith arrived, and they surrendered on no other condition than a promise of their lives. The Legislature, being at length freed from these terrible enemies, and having them now completely in their power, resolved to ship them off from the island, and they were accordingly sent to Nova Scotia, where steps were taken, at an expense of 25,000*l.* voted for the purpose, to locate them at Halifax, from whence in 1800 the survivors were removed to Sierra Leone.

## 26. REDUCTION OF ALL THE DUTCH COLONIES BY THE BRITISH.

Early in the month of August a British squadron under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, consisting of three 74's, two 64's, and two sloops, with the 78th regiment, commanded by Major-General Craig, anchored in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope. Proposals were forthwith submitted to the Dutch Governor, General Slugsken, to surrender the settlement to the British in trust for the Stadtholder; this the Governor refused to entertain, and accordingly on the 14th, the 78th and the marines were landed, and took possession of the town. The Dutch militia and Hottentots occupied a camp in the pass of Mayzenberg, distant six miles from Cape Town, which it now became necessary to attack. A detachment of 1000 seamen were therefore landed from the fleet, and formed into two battalions, bringing up the strength of the attacking force to 1800 men, which advanced on the 7th along the shore, their line of march being covered by the guns of the ships, gun-boats, and launches. These opened such a heavy fire upon the Dutch camp, as compelled every man in it to fly before even General Craig and the troops could co-operate, who arrived and took possession of the abandoned post in the afternoon. On the day following, the enemy endeavoured to retake the post, but failed in the attempt; but on the 3rd of September they advanced against it with all the force they could muster, together with eighteen field-pieces; but just at this critical moment a considerable reinforcement of troops from the East Indies, under the command of General Sir Alured Clarke, cast anchor in Simon's Bay. Preparations were forthwith undertaken on an enlarged scale to attack Cape Town, but on the 14th the Governor, alarmed, capitulated, and the town and colony fell into the possession of Great Britain.

In July an expedition was organized at Madras, under Rear-Admiral Rainier, for the reduction of the Dutch possessions on the Malacca peninsula. On the 1st of August it cast anchor near Trincomalee, and an endeavour was made for a negotiation with the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, to admit 300 British troops to garrison Fort Oostenburg. On failure of this, the troops were landed on the 3rd; no resistance was offered, but it was the 18th before troops could be prepared and landed for the reduction of the fort of Trincomalee, before which the ground was broke that same day. On the 23rd the batteries opened, and effected a practicable breach on the 26th, when the Dutch Commandant was brought to terms and surrendered that fort. Oostenburg surrendered next day, and the whole island submitted to General Stuart on the 1st of October.

A force under Major Brown and Captain Newcome of the "Orphets" obtained possession of Malacca on the 17th of August, and subsequently of Chinsura and its dependencies in the Bay of Bengal, Cochin China, and all the remaining Dutch settlements, on the continent of India; so that it may be said, in the words of Jomini, "*La Hollande ne put échapper à un sort plus facile à prévoir qu'à éviter.*"

### 27. WAR IN PERSIA.

Upon the death of Kherim Khan in 1779 a bloody war of succession raged in the kingdom of Persia, out of which, through a sea of blood, Aga Mehemet Khan at length obtained the sovereign rule. The mind sickens at the recital of the horrors by which the successful competitor wreaked his vengeance upon the vanquished. Every male adult was either slain or deprived of sight; 70,000 persons are said to have been deprived of their eyes, and this number was exceeded in those massacred. After he had established peace at home, he resolved upon the subjugation of Georgia, which was at this time under the government of the aged Heraclius, who hastened to place himself under the protection of the Russian Empress; but Mehemet Khan persevered, and captured in the course of this year Teflis, the capital. The sack of this flourishing town was attended by every brutal excess of cruelty that national hatred, inflamed by bigotry and infernal policy, could dictate. Youth and beauty were alone spared in the general butchery, to become slaves to the conquerors. The churches were levelled with the ground, and every priest that could be found was put to death—thousands were led away captive, and the Persian army marched away laden with spoil. The next object of desire to the Khan was Khorassan, the aged sovereign of which was known to possess jewels of inestimable value. In vain the old man, with the most solemn oaths, denied that he possessed them; torture in all its forms was applied, and discoveries kept pace with the pains inflicted. At length a circle of paste was applied to his grey hairs, and boiling lead poured into it, when, overcome with the torture, he revealed the ruby which had decorated the crown of Aurungzebe, and which was the chief object of search. This unhappy grandson of Nadir died soon after this terrible infliction.

### 28. MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Just before the close of the century, died General George Washington, at his seat, Mount Vernon, in the United States. Although of a respectable English origin, his family had been for three generations domiciled in North America before the birth of George Washington, who was therefore American-born in 1732. Before he was twenty he was appointed a Major in the Colonial Militia, and nominated one of the Adjutants-General of Virginia. He thus had occasion very early to acquire those military talents which rendered him of such essential service to his country. In 1753 Major Washington was employed by the Governor of Virginia in a negotiation with the French Governor of Fort du Quesne, who threatened the English frontiers with an invasion of French and their Indian allies, and hostilities becoming inevitable, he was in the next year appointed Lieut.-Colonel of a regiment raised by the colony for its defence. In 1755 he served under General Braddock, and was present in the carnage of the battle of Monongahela, and instrumental in bringing back the remains of the routed troops. During the next

fifteen years Washington was living as a country gentleman on his estate, when he was, as a distinguished citizen, elected to the first congress which assembled at Philadelphia in 1774, which unanimously conferred on him the command of their army in March, 1775. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was forced into greatness by circumstances, and it was rather the solidity and perseverance of his character than the evidence of any extraordinary genius for the art of war that made him an eminent commander. The chief characteristics of Washington were gravity and dignity in manners and aspect. It has been said by those who were near his person, that they never knew him to smile during the whole war. He preferred at all times to be a listener rather than a talker. No doubt his reserve of manner and the brevity and infrequency of his conversation contributed to increase his personal influence, for this is often found to produce that result. It was the very peculiar character of Washington's genius that could alone have brought into any efficiency the tangled affairs of the Republic. It required the consummate prudence, the calm wisdom, the inflexible firmness, the moderate and well-balanced temper of Washington, to get his countrymen under military discipline, and to embrace the plan of policy that was best opposed to an enemy who was more likely to be exhausted by time than by defeat. To persevere in this policy against the enthusiasm of a liberated people; to resist the temptations of enterprise; to fix the confidence of his soldiers without the attraction of victory; to support the spirit of the army and people amidst slow and cautious plans of defensive warfare; and to suffer all the temporary reproach and obloquy that was the certain result; these are qualities of a very high order, that demand the gratitude and admiration of posterity. As a military commander he succeeded in attaining to a perfectly accurate estimate of the character and extent of the resources which his own country could supply, and was enabled to conduct the war on a plan best adapted to the circumstances of the occasion; but this afforded no means of judging how far his abilities were suited to the defence or attack of positions or of fortified places, or of any of the great manœuvres of a campaign, since almost all the experience we have of his talents in the field consists in beating up the enemy's quarters, or as at Brandywine Creek, opposing the passage of a considerable force. The only exception to this was the manner in which he wove the web round Lord Cornwallis at York Town, which was certainly accomplished by himself and his French associates with consummate skill. Much has been claimed for Washington for the magnanimity of his character during the ravages of a civil war, and no one would refuse him all the praise he may justly merit on this account; but two instances must be named in which he is thought to have been deficient in the great qualities of a hero; viz. the execution of Major André, and the course adopted towards Mr. Aagill, a prisoner of war in his hands. There is no doubt whatever that Major André was a staff-officer on his General's business, and that he was within the enemy's lines with the full knowledge of the General at that moment entrusted with the

command. The treachery of General Arnold did not make Major André a spy, and it was pitiful in the meanest degree to wreak vengeance upon an humble agent because he could not catch the principal delinquent. But granting that this is an erroneous view of the offence, and that military law must consider Major André as a spy, how despicable was the petty exercise of power that could insultingly erect in the view of the unfortunate officer the gallows on which he was to be hung several days before his execution. So again with Mr. Asgill: the temper inherent in a civil war brought such bitter feelings into play, that each party as it triumphed wreaked vengeance on its opponent with every excess of cruelty and wrong—the one was as bad as the other. But could it be credited that an officer who had become a prisoner under terms of capitulation, should be selected by lot or otherwise, to be hung in reparation of injuries of which he was not only no participator, but not even cognizant? The whole civilized world revolted at the flagrant idea, and well was it for Washington's fame that time and circumstances interfered to ward off the issue; although for months this unfortunate young man and his unhappy family were left under the prolonged anticipation of misery. We may well suppose that he was not insensible to the weakness of his own justification for his conduct in these or in similar instances, which must occasionally, in after times, have passed across his mind in the retrospect of his career. An Italian nobleman, who visited him after the peace, attempted to turn his conversation on the events of the war, but in vain. At length a favourable opportunity occurred, when riding together over the scene of some event that had occasioned animadversion on his conduct, and he remarked, "Your conduct, Sir, in this action has been criticized." Washington made no answer, but afterwards observed, "I perceive that you wish me to speak of the war; it is a conversation which I always avoid. I rejoice at the establishment of the liberties of America, but the time of the struggle was a horrible period, in which the best men were compelled to do many things repugnant to their nature." This anecdote is quite in accordance with Washington's general character, which is one of the most brilliant and successful in history. As a soldier he drew the sword *non sibi sed patriæ*, and sheathed it with the same motto. "He was a Cromwell without his ambition, and a Sylla without his crimes, and after having raised his country by his exertions to the rank of an independent State, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Alison.

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